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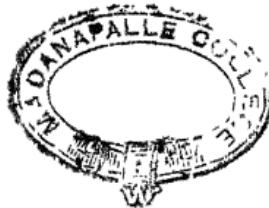
E. V. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION TO WORLD HISTORY

BY

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AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF SCULPTURE," ETC.



HODDER AND STOUGHTON
LIMITED LONDON
MCMXX

12099

FOREWORD

IT was said of a great teacher that he was tender to dullness as to all forms of poverty. The saying recalls a phrase in one of Mrs. Browning's letters—"tender as power itself, which always is most tender." It, moreover, prompts the reflection that teachers of history, in particular, are wont to be less kindly to the great untutored public than their wealth of knowledge might dictate. Too often the general reader finds himself confronted with many-volumed tomes containing an imposing array of sources and authorities, which quickly force him to the conclusion that history is a study for no one save the master of many languages and the reader with unlimited money and unlimited time.

The purpose of this volume is to suggest a more popular method of historical study. If history is a science, it should be the most familiar of all the sciences. If it is an art, it is a quintessence of the arts—a record of the basic facts and principles which give the arts their abiding value. This book frankly recognises that history, and books about history, appeal to two classes; the one composed of professed students; the other, the general reader. It will serve its purpose if it convinces some of the latter

that they have been studying history all their lives, and knew it not. Above all, it seeks to prove that in the study of history there is an ever-present delight, which any man or woman with the seeing eye and the understanding heart may find and enjoy.

THE PURPOSE OF HISTORY

What should be the object of the student when he opens a history book? Broadly speaking, he should seek a knowledge of the world and his fellow-men. The object could hardly be more universal. Decade by decade during the last fifty years, the scope of history has been broadening, until it has come to include every aspect of human existence. The rise and fall of nations is only a part of history now-a-days. We look for knowledge of the economic conditions in which a civilisation arose and prospered. Lecky, in his *History of Rationalism in Europe*, traced the growth of an idea. Science, art and religion all call for description and explanation. As for the lives of men and women, it is the province of history to search out the inward springs and relations of each outstanding historical character. Paraphrasing a passage from Carlyle's *Burns*, history tells us how the world represented itself to the mind of a great man; it tells us how circumstances modified him from within; what and how produced was the effect of society on him; what and how produced was his effect on society.

Faced with this congeries of problems, the method of the professed historian is to collect and classify facts and documents. It has even been said "no

documents, no history." The method of the reader who is not making history a life-study must necessarily be very different if he is to make any substantial progress. He is much less concerned with records and facts than with the impression of human life which these records and facts convey. So, at the outset, I would say to the non-professional student, beware of too many books and beware of big books. A multitude of witnesses does not necessarily mean a right verdict. It may mean no verdict at all.

Again, in regard to the multifarious problems of history, do not specialise too quickly. Gain a vision of the whole world of men first. If, in the course of the years, your interests tend to centre upon one period or one personality, your general reading will not have been wasted. You will have a background of impressions against which the period or the personality will stand out surely and definitely.

What principle should guide your selection of facts? There can only be one answer: Follow your own instinct. You may understand the facts and arguments which seem to you to be interesting. You certainly will not understand facts and arguments which bore you. At all times, honest study should enrich the present. The justification for history lies wholly in the fact that it feeds the thoughts and emotions of to-day. Was it not Mr. March Phillipps who said, Knowledge of the past reminds us that we are not isolated and lonely beings? We have grown out of generations of dead men. What we do and think is a consequence of what they did and thought. I know no more splendid justification for history than

this. It gives us roots. As Mr. Phillipps suggested, without a sense of history, we are like vagrant seeds, which are blown up and down the Sahara, which burst into bloom in a few brief showers of spring, but soon wither. The brief present is our all. A knowledge of the past is the best, and often the only guide to the relative values of life.

And this brings me to my last general rule. In reading give the imagination the freest play. For preference, choose books in which you do not examine the facts too closely. If the conclusions of a great writer ring true, you need not be too critical as to his facts. Many weary hours will be spent before you detect an error of fact in the writings of James Anthony Froude. So, if you take from your shelf the first volume of *Short Studies*, surrender yourself to the wizard who penned the *Times of Erasmus* and the *Dissolution of the Monasteries*. See with his eyes for a few hours. You can rely upon finding some other writer in the not distant future to temper the impressions formed by Froude, even if your own judgment has not instinctively done so. In any case, you will be the better for communion with a richly endowed spirit whose passion for the past was as splendid as the words in which he enshrined it.

These general principles may be difficult of application in the earlier years of school-life. But they become all-important as a boy or girl approaches maturity. In the upper classes of a Secondary School, still more in Continuation Schools, the student is definitely seeking knowledge which will be of service throughout life. Moreover, he is seeking it in a form

which will be of service throughout life. There is no longer time to memorise trivial detail. Now or never the student must learn how to separate the essential from the unessential. He must learn what must be "known" and what may be left in the works of references until it is needed to answer some special historical question. Just because the student in the Continuation School is storing impressions for all time, it is essential that the method should not be devoid of joy, and that it should give promise of usefulness throughout life. Let the youth once realise that the study of history is worthy of his best effort, for the very reason that it deals with matters of day to day importance, and he will not grudge the labour necessary for real knowledge. History should be regarded as an adventure—a spiritual adventure.

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CHAPTER I

THE COMING OF MAN

.AFTER what has been said of history as a spiritual adventure, it will not be amiss if I suggest that study should commence with man's imaginings regarding the primal act of Creation. "Man is not alone. The Angel of the Presence of the Infinite is with him." There is food for historical thought in the first chapter of Genesis. If you would deepen the impression of the dominating thought, "In the Beginning, God," turn to Raphael's story in the Seventh Book of *Paradise Lost*, which records the vision of Creation vouchsafed to another age and a man of another sort. With Milton, you can watch the bright train of the Heavenly Host going forth to the conquest of Chaos. For a while you stand on the edge of the vast immeasurable abyss, outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild. You hear the Omnific Word.

"On the watery calm,
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
And vital virtue infused, and vital warmth
Throughout the fluid mass, but downward purged
The black, tartareous, cold, infernal dregs,
Adverse to life: then founded, then conglobed
Like things to like . . .
And earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung."

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Or again, you may go back with the poet Keats to the vast ethereal waste of infinite possibilities. From the speech of Oceanus in *Hyperion* you may gain a vision of another sort and one more congenial to many modern minds.

"From chaos and parental darkness came
Light, the first fruits of that intestine broil,
That sullen ferment, which for wondrous ends
Was ripening in itself. The ripe hour came,
And with it light, and light, engendering
Upon its own producer, forthwith touched
The whole enormous matter into life.
Upon that very hour, our parentage,
The Heavens and the Earth, were manifest."

Should you be in doubt whether the imaginings of Keats, of Milton, or the writer of Genesis are history, turn to a fragment of Babylonian mythology to be found in the famous Creation Tablet. The Seven Creation Tablets can be seen in the Nineveh Gallery at the British Museum and are illustrated and described in the excellent *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (price 1s.). Over twenty thousand tablets of brown clay were recovered from the low mound which represents the great city of Nineveh to-day. They were inscribed with a three-sided blunt instrument in cuneiform characters. Even the framer of the dictum "no documents, no history," will admit that here is matter for historical analysis. Surely, he must say the same of the story of the Creation recorded in the first chapter of Genesis, which has had infinitely more influence upon the thought of man.

THE COMING OF MAN

The Seven Creation Tablets were found in the Royal Library at Nineveh, the modern Mosul, which was captured by the British army in Mesopotamia in 1918. The library was founded by Sargon, a king of Assyria, who died in 705 B.C., and was greatly extended by Ashur-bani-pal (668–626 B.C.), who sent scribes to all the old-established libraries in Babylonia and Assyria to copy texts. The resulting clay tablets were then laid on shelves in the library at Nineveh, the tablets being grouped into classes and duly labelled. Though the Seven Creation Tablets date from the seventh century B.C., other cuneiform texts, also describing the Creation and the Deluge, go back to the fifteenth century B.C., and even earlier.

The first tablet tells of a time when the heavens were not and the earth was not; when there were no plants; when the gods had not come into being, and when the watery deep was the origin of all things. The male and female deities of this Chaos were Apsu and Tiamat, Tiamat being the "Tehom," or primæval ocean, of the first chapter of Genesis. To Apsu, Tiamat and their children, were born the great gods and goddesses of Babylonia, including Ea and Anu. Ea, the water-god, brought about the downfall of Apsu, but Tiamat was unconquered and created a terrifying brood of monsters to carry on the struggle against the new gods. The second tablet tells how Anu, the sky-god, was sent to Tiamat to appease her, but was frightened and turned back. Marduk, the son of Ea and the Merodach of the Bible, then became champion of the new gods. Already my readers will have noted some curious analogies

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with the creation myths of Greece and Northern Europe. *Hyperion* alone will serve to suggest the analogies and differences between the Greek and the Babylonian stories. For the creation myths of the Northmen, read Carlyle's story of Odin, in the first chapter of *On Heroes and Hero Worship*.

The third and fourth tablets record the election of Marduk in the Babylonian Valhalla, where the gods "ate bread and drank sesame-wine" before choosing their champion and sending him forth in his four-horsed chariot against Tiamat. Marduk spread out his net, he drove the winds, which he had gathered together, down the throat of the monster, and then seized his spear. "He drove the weapon into her heart, he severed her inward parts, he vanquished her, he cut off her life." From one half Marduk made the covering for the heavens and from the other he made the earth. In Babylonia, men accounted for rain by imagining that, corresponding to the earthly ocean, was a celestial ocean above the vault of the sky. What Marduk did was to divide the primæval waters into two parts, which were henceforth separated by the firmament. This conception makes clear the passage in Genesis—

"And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so. And God called the firmament, Heaven."

The fifth Creation Tablet tells of the making of the stars, the establishing of the year of twelve

THE COMING OF MAN

months, and the appointment of the moon "to determine the days." For the creation of man, Marduk ordered Ea to cut off his (Marduk's) head. From the bone and the blood of his own body, man was formed. The act of Creation was completed.

THE COMING OF MAN

But the science of three thousand years ago must not occupy us over-long. Let us rather see what modern science has to say about the beginning of things. The astronomer tells that the solar nebula—the Tiamat of Babylonia and the Chaos of the poets—lost by slow degrees its gaseous state. The outer zones became colder than the central mass. The planets were cast off from the luminous solar core which, thereafter, became the Sun. So our Earth started upon its journey through ethereal space.

Possibly 56 million years ago, possibly hundreds of millions of years earlier, the moon was separated from the earth. Lord Kelvin has estimated that the earth was a glowing globe 40 million years ago. The exact number of million years matters little to the historian. He requires only an impression of the vastness of time and space, compared with the physical littleness of man. Humanity may be glad that it has even this grasp upon the eternal verities. Our ears are sensitive to a very few of the octaves of notes which we term sound waves. By touch we know only the surface of things. Our eyes are only tuned to a narrow band in the great range of ethereal waves. The words "I do not

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know," need not bring a blush of shame to the human cheek.

Perhaps 26 million years ago the waters were gathered together into one place and dry land appeared. At the end of the carboniferous period, when the great coalfields of modern industry were laid down, we are told that a vast continent extended from Brazil, through Africa and India, to Australia. The fossil remains of the fern-like *glossopteris*, with a leaf like the hart's-tongue fern, enable geologists to trace the extent of the southern continent. To the north was a stretch of land, including eastern America, Europe, and mid-Asia, in which grew the great tree-ferns and horsetails, which formed the coal-seams. The growth and decay of fifty generations of these plants went to the making of each foot of a coal-seam.

Twenty million years after the first living thing appeared on our planet came the man-like apes, perhaps a million years ago. From the man-like apes developed the *Pithecanthropus*, the five-foot man, with massive brow-ridges and a brain capacity about equal to the lowest savage of to-day. The purpose of the Creation was completed. To quote from Abercrombie's *Emblems of Love*, a mine of imaginative suggestion upon the history of primitive man—

"We to ourselves have said that when God took
The fierce beginning of the unwrought world
From out his fiery passion, and, breathing cool,
Turned the wild molten being, with his hands
Fashion'd and work't the hot clay into world,

THE COMING OF MAN

Then with green mercy quieted the land
And claspt it with the summer of blue seas,
With brooches of white spray along the shores—
It was to be an equal dwelling-place
For humans that he did it.”

MAN AS A TOOL-MAKER

The best foundation for the study of primitive man is the *British Museum Guide to the Stone Age* (1s.). This should be purchased by all students whether resident in London or not. The Guide is generously illustrated, and opens with a short summary of our very imperfect knowledge concerning palæolithic man (from the Greek words *Παλαιος λιθος* = old stone). But it is useless to read much about the Stone Age, without a lively sense of the objects referred to. A Londoner cannot do better than visit the Stone Age Gallery at the British Museum. Commence by wandering around the galleries for an hour; then read and mark the catalogue before spending another hour among the museum cases. Those who live in the provinces would do well to study the primitive history of their own district. By the time you have made up your mind what a tool is and what a tool meant to primitive man, you will realise the historical problem presented for solution.

Man is a tool-maker and a tool-user. A million or more years ago, the forerunners of the anthropoid apes of to-day had made some progress in the use of tools and even in the communication of their mental judgments by signs and cries. But the

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faculty of articulate speech was ill-developed. In man, the nerve-centre which controls speech is located in the fore-part of the head. The portion of the brain controlling speech can develop until the man reaches adult years. The skull of the ape, on the contrary, ossifies during the first year of life. The ape's brain, being so confined, remains infantile.

Among some of the primitive anthropoid apes, a tendency arose whereby the ossification of the fore-part of the skull was delayed. So some scientists tell us. Others suggest that in the necessity for brain increase lies the real explanation of the increase in skull capacity. Professor Cunningham, of Edinburgh, has suggested that a gradual change in the spinal column of some apes liberated the arms from locomotion. The backbone stiffened. The thigh-bone straightened. The creature walked erect. The hands were free for the making and using of tools and weapons. Examples of both tools and weapons can be seen at the British Museum, ranging from the earliest stone implements to the beautiful flint javelin-heads found in the long barrow graves in Wiltshire, or the wonderful chipped knives and bracelets of chert from Abydos and other Egyptian sites.

While stone tools were being evolved in this fashion, primitive man was generally a cave-dweller. The Ice Age was ending, but the cold in mid-Europe was still intense. The reindeer, driven from Scandinavia by the glaciers, wandered over southern France. So did the woolly mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the Arctic hare and other northern fauna.

The primitive hunters killed and ate the short-legged horses about the size of a modern pony, which ran wild in Europe. Between ten and thirty thousand years ago the so-called Aurignacian man was living in Europe. The name comes from the caves of Aurignac in the Haute Garonne, in southern France, where his paintings and carvings have been found. A description with illustrations will be found in *Ancient Hunters*, by Professor Sollas, a book which happily supplements the bare record of the British Museum guide. By this time the Fourth Glacial Period was passing away and the ice had retreated, allowing primitive man to come into mid-Europe. The reindeer was still abundant. So were the horse and the bison. The mammoth and the rhinoceros were rare. The climate was that of the Russian steppes. Houses were occasionally built in the open country.

THE STORY OF UNG

The most remarkable Aurignacian remains were found by M. Santuola in 1879 when searching in the caves of Altamira in northern Spain. Absorbed in his search for flints, M. Santuola did not notice that his little daughter had wandered off, tired of watching him. Presently he heard a childish voice—"toros, toros." M. Santuola ran out and found the little girl standing in a cave and pointing to the roof. It was, indeed, a case of "bulls." The roof was covered with them. Some were life-sized. With the bison (aurochs) were horses, deer and wild boars. Standing, walking and ramping, they crowded a composition

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which was full of life. You remember Kipling's Story of Ung in the *Seven Seas*.

"Later he pictured an aurochs—later he pictured a bear—
Pictured the sabre-tooth tiger dragging a man to his lair—
Pictured the mountainous mammoth, hairy, abhorrent, alone—
Out of the love that he bore them, scribing them clearly on bone."

In the caves of Altamira Ung worked on a "canvas" of the largest size. It was his Sistine Ceiling.

Since 1879 the red oxide of iron and pestles of granite and quartzite have been found. The Aurignacian Ung used the pestles for pounding his colours. With them were found shoulder-blade bones daubed with paint, which served for palettes. There is a school of modern artists who even inquire whether painters have made any great advance upon the achievements of Aurignacian man. They point out that from the mass of visual fact which the bison, the deer and the wild horses presented, the Aurignacian painters and carvers chose such points as the external contour of the head, the limbs and the place and shape of the eye. These facts could be perpetuated in the material at the cave-man's command—soft stone or bone. The imagination of their fellows filled in the texture of the hide, the play of muscles and a hundred and one other details, with the occasional help of a wash of red paint. These modern critics ask if latter day art is based

on a more sure principle than this union of the imagination and significant fact.

Palæolithic culture was followed by the Neolithic (from the Greek *νέος λίθος* = new stone). The neolithic peoples were primarily pastoralists rather than wandering hunters. The "kitchen middens" on the Danish coast show an early European neolithic culture. The reindeer was unknown. There is evidence of a knowledge of weaving, though not, as yet, of agriculture. In the kitchen middens are found the remains of a small breed of dog. Life was very similar to that in Tierra del Fuego to-day.

Or, again, a knowledge of neolithic man can be gained from the remains of his culture to be found in our own islands. Every local museum has some examples of his pottery, his tools and the like. The Swiss lake-dwellings reveal a time when men lived in villages of wattle and daub raised upon high piles driven into the edges of the lakes. Primitive man lived in similar conditions above the marshes of our own islands, as can be seen at Glastonbury, Somerset, where the remains of lake-dwellings have been dug out from the bed of a dried-up lake.

MEN OF THE ASIAN STEPPESS

But it was not in these dreary settlements on the shores of the Baltic, still less in the marshes of southern England, that civilisation was to make the greatest advance. At the end of the Glacial Age, men had spread over the great plain of Central Europe. The ice caps melted. With the warmer

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climate, a richly-wooded countryside replaced the monotonous tundra. In the south-east, the Aral, the Caspian and the Black Sea formed a great lake into which poured the Danube, the Volga, the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The Ural mountains and this great inland sea cut off the inhabitants of Asia from the men of Europe. In Europe wild sheep, cattle and pigs supplied animal food. A primitive agriculture arose.

Even quicker progress was made in Asia, where the prime requirement of a pastoral civilisation was present. This prime requirement is space. Pastoral nomads need a wide extent of country. Estimates based upon analogies furnished by the Tartars of Central Asia to-day suggest that a country of the size of France would only support about 50,000 pastoral nomads. In the vast steppe country, with a rainfall just sufficient to ensure a free growth of grass, the neolithic pastoral folk tamed the wild horse and learnt to breed sheep and goats. The domestication of animals converted the savage pack into the patriarchal tribe. When further migration became difficult owing to the ever-increasing numbers, the pastoral nomads made their first gardens. Wheat and barley, which were indigenous in the southern parts of the great Asian plain, were cultivated. At last some of the people of the steppes passed into the fertile river-valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Here arose the civilisation of Babylonia.

Others of the pastoral nomads of mid-Asia, leaving the highlands of Mongolia, made their way into the great plain of China, where they became the fathers

of the 500 millions of Mongolians, who dwell in China, Japan, Tibet and Malaya to-day. It is not possible to make more than a passing reference to the history of China in this book. It lies outside the main current of human endeavour which went to the making of "European civilisation," the object of our prime study. In the main, the history of China was that of such river-valley civilisations as Babylonia and Egypt. It arose upon the banks of the Hwang-ho river, with its rich deposits of yellow alluvial which afforded a return for human effort far beyond anything which the vagrant hunters and pastoralists of Mongolia had imagined possible when their experience was confined to the uplands of Central Asia. The earliest Mongol invasion of China may date from 8,000 to 10,000 B.C. A thousand years before Christ there was an advanced civilisation on the banks of the Hwang-ho. The Emperor went to battle accompanied by thousands of two-wheeled chariots. To-day the population of Greater China is about 400 million, a third of whom dwell in the lowlands surrounding such rivers as the Hwang-ho and the Yangtze-kiang. Many more Chinese live in districts fertilised, not by alluvial mud, but by æolian dust, a fertiliser as valuable to China as the Nile mud has been to Egypt through the centuries.

Though we cannot trace the history of the Chinese people in detail, they must never be forgotten by the student of general history. The Mongolian invasions from time to time have had momentous results upon European history. The relapse of

Europe in the so-called Dark Ages was due to changes of climate in the mid-Asian steppe lands, which forced the Mongolian hillsmen into the lowlands in great numbers. What has happened before may, perchance, happen again. The world of to-day knows the threat as "The Yellow Peril."

THE ARYANS OF INDIA

Lastly, there were the men of the Asian steppe country who invaded Persia and India. The latter were the fathers of the Indians of to-day and the creators of such memorials of human activity at its highest as the epic poems known as the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. This exodus took place many centuries after the Mongols invaded China. The Caspian, the Aral and the Black Seas had been separated by this time and the steppe country extended from the mountains of Central Asia to the Carpathians in Europe. The Aryans, as the later inhabitants of Eur-Asia may be called, seem to have had their home in a stretch of country south of the Caspian, watered by the Oxus and the Jaxartes. Perhaps 10,000 years ago they had reached a civilisation comparable with that of the Swiss lake-dwellers in Europe. They had domesticated the dog and used the ox for moving their rude carts. But the population ever tended to become too large for pastoral life in the steppes. From time to time leaders arose who combined a number of tribes into invading hordes which sought easier conditions of life in the river-valleys bordering the highland steppes.

About 2000 or 3000 years before Christ, such bodies began to pass into Armenia and Persia, while others conquered northern India, giving rise to the Armenian and Iranian tongues and to Sanskrit. Rather later, other parties of conquering raiders passed, as we shall see, into Greece and Italy by way of the Balkans and the Alps.

After separating from the Iranians who moved into Persia, the Aryans invaded the Punjab, reaching the valley of the Indus by way of the Kabul Valley, or the Khyber Pass, a gorge through the Hindu Kush which through the ages has been the only means of invading northern India. Tempting as the task would be, it is not possible in this book to set out the facts of Indian history. The student will find that in essence the story of India is that of China and Babylonia. All were river-valley civilisations, which derive their interest from the efforts of the inhabitants to make the most of what nature had supplied in rich profusion. When the Aryans reached the Indus Valley there was a conflict, lasting for centuries, with the dark-skinned aborigines until the Punjab was conquered. Here the Aryans extended agriculture and perfected their Sanskrit language, which has come down to us in the collection of rhymes called the Rig-Veda. While the Aryans were living in the Indus Valley, their religion had no temples and images. The father of the family lighted the sacrificial fire and offered milk, rice or soma-juice to the Spirit of the Fire, and besought the blessing of the Bright Ones, headed by Dyaush Pitar, or Heavenly Father. From these

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simple religious exercises arose the hymns of the Rig-Veda and, finally, the rich tapestry of faiths and philosophies known to-day as Brahminism.

It was not in the Indus Valley that the Hindu genius came to full flower, but rather in the country watered by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra to the east of the North Indian plain. Whereas the Indus and its five streams run at right angles to the Himalayas, the Ganges runs parallel with the mountains. It is, therefore, less rapid, and on both sides of the stream are stretches of alluvial land which can be readily irrigated. Moreover, whereas only a part of the Indus Valley is affected by the monsoon, the whole of the Ganges region benefits by the summer rainfall which results when the sea-breezes from the Indian Ocean strike the massy mountain-wall of the Himalayas. Whereas the Punjab can only be cultivated close to the rivers, the Ganges waters a vast agricultural country where rice, cotton and indigo grow to-day, reminding us of the rich crops which have been the foundation of Indian prosperity throughout historic time.

Living in the Ganges Valley, the Aryan Hindus lost their earlier vigour. The simple hymns of the Rig-Veda gave way to a complicated ceremonial. The patriarchs of the individual families made way for an hereditary caste. Instead of petty states warring against each other, great kingdoms ruled by mighty chiefs arose. The conflicts of these peoples gave rise to the Indian epics. The four outstanding nations, the Kurus and Panchalas, living on the upper course of the Ganges, of whom we may read in

THE COMING OF MAN

the *Mahabharata*, and the Kosalas and Videhas, who dwelt in Oudh and North Behar. The last two gave India the heroes of the *Ramayana*, the *Odyssey* of India, as the *Mahabharata* is its *Iliad*.

But the river-valley civilisations can best be studied in detail in Egypt and Babylonia, and it is to these lands we will now turn. This is not because the civilisations of Egypt and Babylonia are of greater importance or deeper interest than those of China and India. The contrary is the truth. But the history of Egypt and Babylonia is more closely intertwined with that of Western Europe. With a subject so vast as world history, it is essential to be economical of effort and only to glean facts which are most useful in forming a general vision of history. For this reason, and this reason alone, we will pass from Eastern Asia to the west and review the river civilisations of the Tigris, Euphrates and the Nile. |

A Note upon Methods of Historic Study

The foregoing chapter has suggested a method of study, a method which can be applied to all historic periods. But the due presentation of facts selected by a single writer is a very different thing from the method required by a student. It now remains to tell how the general method of study can be utilised so that additional knowledge will readily fall into its place as it is acquired from books, from newspapers, in conversation, from museums and the other sources from which general information is derived.

In the first place, that your knowledge may grow

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with the years, take notes. Do not take more notes than you can help. But when you do, set down each new fact on a separate sheet of paper. The sheets should be of a uniform size. Postcard size is convenient and the paper should not be too thick. If the fact does not fill the sheet, do not mind. Paper is comparatively cheap even in post-war time.

"Why should each note be taken on a separate sheet?" you ask. That it may be readily destroyed. In the study of history, it is at least as important to forget as to remember. A note taken in 1919 may be obsolete by 1929. It will not be merely that the fact has been proved untrue. This will sometimes be so. But it is more probable that the notes will be overloaded with facts that you well know, or with a record of happenings that no longer have any significance for you. If so, destroy ruthlessly. Let your notes represent your knowledge to date, not your knowledge when the books were first read.

Keep your notes approximately in chronological order, the sheets dealing with each episode being together. It is convenient to group the notes which cover an epoch between two thick cards, with a title and date on the uppermost card. The cards and the notes should be enclosed by a rubber band or a length of thin string. I shall have opportunities of enlarging upon this system of note-taking hereafter. For the present, it will suffice to say that after a year or two of regular effort such notes become a well-loved possession, reflecting, maybe, the best hours of a busy life—the hours spent with the seers and heroes.

Do not grudge the time devoted to note-taking.

Some of the greatest men have made it a practice throughout life. Leonardo da Vinci is an example. From his sixteenth year Hegel, the philosopher, was a note-taker. He made copious extracts from every book which interested him. He made a full analysis of books he considered important and even copied out lengthy passages. If you would know the value of such work towards the end of a long life, turn to the introduction to one of the most fascinating of published note-books—that of Samuel Butler, the author of *The Way of All Flesh*. Having done so, you will no longer think note-taking useless labour. If a book is worth reading for ten hours, it is worth noting for ten minutes. A hundred-word summary of an argument in your own phrases may bring to mind the impression of a book after twenty years.

But a memory of the written word is not everything. What the reader of history requires even more, is the power to visualise a situation or a personality. See the siege of Jerusalem as if it was happening in Clapham. Know Titus as you know Joseph Chamberlain or W. E. Gladstone. Picture postcards are a useful aid to the visual memory. Preserve them with your notes. For example, after a passage describing William Pitt, noted perhaps from Lord Rosebery's Life, insert a postcard purchased at the National Portrait Gallery. Your Napoleonic notes may be illustrated from a score of well-known pictures, closing, maybe, with Orchardson's excellent representation of the scene on board the *Bellerophon*. After the triumphs and disasters of the Hundred Days

ended at Waterloo, Napoleon projected a scheme to sail for the United States on board a French man-of-war, but he was stopped at Rochefort by the vigilance of the *Bellerophon*. After Napoleon surrendered and came aboard, Captain Maitland records—

“ Sunday, the 23rd of July, we passed very near to Ushant; the day was fine and Buonaparte remained upon deck a great part of the morning. He cast many a melancholy look at the coast of France.”

Such pictures assist visualisation, but much more is needed. As you read, strive to see the circumstance, or the man, in your mind’s eye. Never think of an historical happening as an abstraction. This is a counsel of perfection. But it is based upon a golden rule. Be of the number of the “ visuals,” not of the “ non-visuals.”

THE HISTORY CHARTS

Again I would strongly urge upon students, and also upon teachers, the value of “ charting ” the main facts of universal history. Here is a chart roughly setting out the facts given in the earlier part of this opening chapter.

HISTORICAL CHART—THE COMING OF MAN

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Job xxxviii. | "IN THE BEGINNING—GOD." | Babylonian Creation Tablets. |
| Nebula of Orion. | CHAOS. | Nebula of Solar System. |
| THE PLANETS AND THE EARTH. | | |
| Raphael's Story of the Creation. <i>Paradise Lost</i> , Book VII. | | |
| | Birth of the Moon—57 million years ago. | |
| | The Earth, a glowing globe—40 million years ago. | |
| "The Gathering together of the Waters"—26 million years ago. | | |
| Michelangelo's Paintings on the Sistine Ceiling, Vatican | | |
| Animal Life, Amoeba. | The First Living Thing—say 20 million years ago. | Vegetable Kingdom Coal Deposits. |
| "Guide to Fossil Reptiles," etc. (Nat. Hist. Museum, 9d). | | |
| | The Chalk Cliffs—15 million years ago. | |
| The Uplifting of the Mountain Chains—12 million years ago. | | |
| Professor J. W. Gregory's <i>Making of the Earth</i> (Home & Univ. Library, 1s. 6d.) | | |
| The Man-like Apes—say a million years ago. | | |
| | The First Man—250,000 years ago. | |
| Michelangelo's "Adam" on the Sistine Ceiling, Vatican. | | |
| The Great Ice Age—220,000 years ago. | | |
| His tools and Weapons. | <i>Palæolithic Man.</i> | Increasing mental powers. <i>Homo Sapiens.</i> |
| | | |
| | End of Glacial Epoch—80,000 years ago. | |
| Sollas' <i>Ancient Hunters.</i> | <i>Palæolithic Art.</i> | Aurignacian Paintings. |
| | | |
| Kipling's <i>In the Neolithic Age</i> and <i>The Story of Ung.</i> | | |
| The Reindeer Age—20,000 to 10,000 years ago. | | |
| "Kitchen Middens," Flint Arrow-heads. | <i>Neolithic Man.</i> | Pastoral Life, Weaving. |
| | | |
| | "Guide to the Stone Age" (British Museum, 1s.). | |
| Pastoral Nomads of the Asian, European and African Steppes. | | |

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It will be seen that the general scheme is to use three columns, the dominant idea being placed in the central column, with the illustrative fact or personality to right or left. The thirty-eighth chapter of Job in which the Creator speaks from the whirlwind, for example, "illustrates" the Creation story in Genesis.

"Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare if thou hast understanding."

So with the idea of Chaos in the central column. Look into the sky to-day and a powerful telescope reveals the Nebula of Orion, an illustration of the Nebula of the Solar System on which the drama of human history is being played. I have already indicated the value of a poem like *Paradise Lost* in assisting the visualisation of such vast world happenings as "the Creation," happenings which can only be grasped as a whole in their poetical forms. Michelangelo's paintings in the Sistine Ceiling at the Vatican, such as the "Creation of Adam," have a similar value. A student would do well to copy out the chart on a sheet of fair size, leaving as much space as possible between the various entries to permit of additions and corrections. For instance, you may desire to increase the figures given as an indication of the progress of geological time. You may read books dealing with this or that aspect of these difficult studies, and desire to note the fact. No more useful place will be found than a chart of this type, which is intended to serve as an aid to quick visualisation and an index to your knowledge.

Such a chart will not do away with the necessity for detailed note-taking. But you will find it a useful substitute if there is time for no more. Additions and modifications to the chart will readily suggest themselves. As I have said, further study may entirely change your idea of the time occupied by what I have called the act of Creation. You may choose to ignore the theistic basis which I have adopted. Other poems or pictures may occur to you as more happily recalling the Coming of Man than those I have chosen. This is as it should be. Your historical chart, like your notes, should sum up *your* knowledge, not *mine*. That is its value, for you.

I have added to each historical epoch a series of suggestions for essays or questions which will serve as a test of the student's capacity to make use of facts. It is important continually to re-think problems in your own words. Preserve such essays for future reference—crude as they may seem. You will find that they gain greatly in significance when twenty or thirty essays or answers to questions are collected together. In time the collected essays may supersede your notes. The crude essay may be re-written with fuller knowledge; the brief answer may later be elaborated into an essay.

A word of warning. Do not be tempted into making the study of world history a burden, and, above all, do not spend too much time upon the earlier periods of human history. What we are seeking is a general "Vision," not detailed knowledge of the myriad happenings which have gone to the making of history since man first made a tool. This

warning is not intended as an excuse for careless reading and slovenly study. Much hard thinking will be necessary before a vision of world happenings is gained. But remember that it is better to go on than to remain stationary. The justification for all study is a fuller understanding of our own times, the life we are living to-day.

Here are the questions or suggestions for essays covering Chapter I, dealing with "The Creation," Palæolithic and Neolithic Man and the people of the Eur-Asian steppes.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

THE COMING OF MAN

- (1) By whom was the first chapter of Genesis written, and what does it sum up for us to-day?
- (2) What was the effect of tools upon human evolution? Define a "tool."
- (3) What do you know of the early art of China?
- (4) What relation does the Sanskrit language of India bear to Greek, Latin and English?
- (5) Construct a historic "chart" with the aid of encyclopædia articles setting out the chief facts, personalities and books of Ancient India between 2000 B.C. and A.D. 1000.

CHAPTER II

THE RIVER-VALLEY CIVILISATIONS

ANCIENT Babylonia and Egypt were alike “the gift of the rivers.” A few feet of black Nile mud made the civilisation of Ancient Egypt possible, as the alluvial deposits laid down by the Tigris and Euphrates were the foundation of the Empires of the Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian Kings. One of Henry Thomas Buckle’s most brilliant chapters, perhaps the chapter which made him famous, is entitled “The influence exercised by physical laws over the organisation of society.” No better prelude to the history of the River-Valley Civilisations can be found. Read Chapter II of the *History of Civilisation*. It occupies about one hundred pages, of which half are devoted to the notes in which Buckle delighted. Having read the chapter, see what use you can make of the tool—surely a historical rock drill—which Buckle offers you. To find out what this tool is and the work it will do, condense Buckle’s argument to its bare essentials. For example—

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ACCUMULATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

PHYSICAL AGENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Climate, temperate or extreme. | 1. (a) Hot country—men require less food and clothing. (b) Cold country—men require more food and clothing. |
| 2. Food, plenty or little. (a) Animal—heat producing. (b) Vegetable—repair of tissue. | 2. Food in plenty. (a) <i>Economic Result.</i> Low wages for workers. Big profits for masters. (b) <i>Political Result.</i> A very unequal division of wealth. (c) <i>Intellectual Result.</i> Poverty breeds ignorance. |
| 3. Soil, fertile or unfertile. | 3. (a) Regular work produces an industrious people. (b) Irregular work produces an idle people. (c) Barren country—no civilisation. |
| 4. General Aspect of Nature. | 4. Nature excites the imagination and suggests the superstitions of a people. |

These condensations of a historical argument are well worth making. Indeed, they are often far more useful than a verbal note, verbal note-taking tending to become a highly automatic operation. But the skeleton arguments must not be taken for the book they represent. The short tabular statement above in no way represents Buckle's wonderful chapter. It merely serves to recall Buckle's ideas concerning the effect of physical agents upon human society. It is, therefore, well to re-read the source of such a

table from time to time and assure yourself that you have not added a certainty to the writer's words which he would disclaim. There are no laws in history corresponding to the "laws" of physical science.

Remembering this, let us consider in greater detail a single one of these physical aspects—that of soil and fertility—in its relation to Egypt and Babylonia (Mesopotamia).

Before Egypt received its population, the land was a limestone plateau. Some great earth movement caused the eastern side of the plateau to rise several hundred feet, leaving a great fissure at the foot of a series of low hills. At the time, the Sahara was a vast inland sea or gulf, and the rainfall over the limestone plateau was abundant. Flowing along the fissure, the rainfall cut a gorge some 2000 feet deep. Then came a general fall in the level of north-eastern Africa. The fissure and its tributaries were choked with debris and formed a great estuary stretching 300 miles from the Mediterranean. When the country rose once more and the Saharan Sea dried up, the lower Nile Valley as we know it to-day came into being.

Eight or ten thousand years ago, when we come upon traces of the earliest inhabitants of Egypt, the stream of the Nile was far broader than it is at present. Primitive hunters lived on the bordering highlands, where a plentiful rainfall provided the shrubbery and grass for the wild animals on which the hunters subsisted. As the stretch of water diminished, the alluvial debris was laid bare on either bank, and the

hot sun, acting on the rich moist soil, wrought a magical change.

In this alluvial mud, a threefold crop was possible, and the palæolithic hunters were quick to profit by it. They settled down as permanent agriculturists. Villages and towns arose, and with them came the sub-division of labour which villages and towns make possible. Whereas the greater part of northern Africa has been a sandy plain throughout recorded history, the stretch of five to twenty miles intersected by the Nile has been the home of a vast population. It was so 5000 years ago. It is so now. To this day the Nile receives the spring rains from the Abyssinian uplands, and its stream is charged with a dark red sediment. Each October this sediment covers the Egyptian plain for an average width of ten miles. When the river flood decreases, a thin layer of rich earth is left on the land. Where the red sediment lies is Egypt—the land of the living; the rest is desert and bare hill-country—the land of the dead.

Three-fourths of the problems of Egyptian history—economic, social and political—can be referred to the effects of the Nile inundations. Early in the history of the Nile Valley we hear of a settlement in the Delta ruled by priest-kings. Their power was destroyed by Mena (or Menes), a prince whom Breasted dates 3400 B.C. Mena was the first ruler of a united Egypt, controlling the country from Abydos to the sea. He is said to have been the founder of Memphis. According to Herodotus, Mena changed the bank of the Nile and made an embank-

ment 100 stadia above Memphis to protect the city against inundations. Nar-mer, a predecessor of Mena, had been a great canal-builder. It is clear that this control of the canal systems, which brought political power to the ruler, was also beneficial to the people at large. Without central authority water conservation was impossible, and irrigation schemes were disorganised. The canals became choked, the banks crumbled and famine followed. Later Egyptian kings carried out even larger schemes. The monarchs of the Twelfth Dynasty (2000 B.C.) constructed a great artificial lake, on the west of the Nile, Lake Moeris, to receive the surplus waters of the Nile. Twenty-seven thousand acres were reclaimed in the Fayum by the building of a great wall and were added to the royal domains. As it was in the time of the Twelfth Dynasty kings, so it is to-day. A great glory of the British occupation of Egypt was the building of the dams at Assuan. The English engineers who are responsible for the Assuan dam still maintain the ancient works of King Mena, which after 5000 years continue to protect the low-lying country and conserve the flood-waters for use during the dry season. It is true that Dame Nature, by means of the Nile, made Egyptian civilisation possible. But it is also a fact that the physical conditions which supported a great Egyptian community were due to human artifice alone. Nature, unassisted by man, is very helpless.

SOFT COUNTRIES PRODUCE SOFT MEN

And the result of this vast population and this abundance of cheap food? Just what Buckle predicted. An over-generous supply of cheap labour and a marked inequality in the division of wealth and power. Buckle himself recalls that Diodorus Siculus, a Roman historian who travelled in Egypt nineteen centuries ago, said that to bring up a child to manhood cost an Egyptian parent twenty drachmas, or thirteen shillings in English money. Apart from the cheapness of food, the climate necessitated few clothes even for an adult, while the children of the poor ran about naked. Political power belonged so entirely to the rich that the manual worker who even interested himself in politics was severely punished. As Herodotus said "soft countries produce soft men."

Only a nation of "soft men" would have built the Great Pyramid of Cheops (Khufu). It is said that 150,000 men took twenty years to set it up. One hundred and thirty feet higher than St. Paul's, it consists of some two million blocks of stone each averaging two and a half tons. The casing-stones weighed sixteen tons apiece. The stones were cut and shaped at the quarries on the opposite bank of the Nile. They were then placed on rollers, borne to the river and ferried over while the river was in flood. From the edge of the flooded river to the site of the pyramid the stones were drawn along a raised roadway on big wooden sledges. The control of the canal system and the necessity for working the royal

mines had long accustomed the Egyptians to the system of *corvées*. Otherwise the building of the pyramids would have been impossible. Seti I. paid his workers four pounds of bread daily, two bundles of vegetables and a roast of meat. Twice a month each man had a new linen garment. Yet the Egyptian peasant was content. Why? Surely, because "soft countries produce soft men."

THE BABYLONIAN CANAL-BUILDERS

Let us turn from the Nile Valley to Mesopotamia, the country at the head of the Persian Gulf which fell to the British arms during the World War, and seems destined to be the home of the surplus millions of India during the present century.

Geographically, Babylonia is the low-lying ground on the west bank of the Euphrates and the country enclosed by the Euphrates and the Tigris. Most of this land is flooded by the periodic rising of the two rivers, following the melting of the snows in the Armenian highlands. The alluvial deposits, left when the swollen streams subside, give fertility to the Babylonian plain. It has been estimated that a herd of 300 cattle and 2000 acres of land are needed to support the family of a wandering pastoralist on the central Asian steppes. In Babylonia, a garden plot sufficed. When the nomads saw how easily life could be maintained in the alluvial plains, they swarmed into the country between the two rivers. In Mesopotamia the correlation of the efforts of the social units reached a perfection which had not even

been foreshadowed by the experiences of the men of the Asian steppes.

When recorded Babylonian history commences, let us say 3500 years before Christ, the country was ruled by many authorities, each controlling a township or other small social unit. There was much fighting, to the discontent of the trading class which had already arisen at Babylon. Situated as Babylonia is between the Eastern and the Western seas, its chief town lay on one of the great natural highways. As wealth accumulated, however, even worse troubles came. The land between the Tigris and the Euphrates was continually invaded by the hardy tribesmen from the desert on the West or the mountains on the north and east. A strong central authority was an urgent necessity. Inasmuch as the local rulers seemed incapable of control, power passed to the invading chiefs.

One of the earliest was Sargon of Akkad (3000 B.C.), who subdued the vassal princes in Southern Mesopotamia. His experience showed that the main principles by which a Babylonian ruler would have to abide were—

(1) To secure an adequate supply of food-producing land for an ever-increasing population.

(2) In the absence of natural boundaries, such as the Egyptian desert, a strong army and a vigorous foreign policy were essential. By no other means could the trade routes to Syria and Phoenicia be assured.

It was the first consideration which led the Babylonian kings to construct the system of canals which ensured Babylonian prosperity for several thousand

years. What this national irrigation scheme meant can be judged from the code of laws which King Hammurabi, 2000 B.C., recorded upon the great stele of black basalt, now in the Louvre at Paris. An English translation has been published by Mr. C. H. W. Johns. I would recommend it as your second purchase in Babylonian literature. The first, you will remember, was the British Museum catalogue, with the description of the Creation Tablets and the epic of Istar. Reading the translation of Hammurabi's code, we are tempted to assent for a while to the dictum "no documents, no history." The inscription on the great diorite block in the Louvre throws a flood of light upon the Babylonian social system such as no record of conquest or priest-craft could do.

The mingling of modernity and archaism is curious in the extreme. Stress is laid upon the necessity for having a written contract for every important transaction, suggesting the City of London in the year 1919. Every contract must be signed in the presence of witnesses. If a merchant sends an agent (a commercial traveller), the final settlement depends upon a priced inventory, and the traveller is not obliged to account for any goods which do not appear in the inventory.

"If the Merchant has given to the Agent, corn, wool, oil or any sort of goods to traffic with, the Agent shall make a note of the value and hand it over to the Merchant. The Agent shall take a sealed memorandum of the price which he shall give to the Merchant. If the Agent has forgotten and has not taken a sealed memorandum of the money he has given to the Merchant, money that is not sealed for he shall not put in his accounts."

If the traveller failed to look after the interests of his principal, he was liable to make good any loss. But if he was the victim of accident or other mishap, say a highwayman, Hammurabi's code ordains—

“The Agent shall swear by the name of God and go free.”

No less interesting are the sections devoted to the irrigation-canals, the draining of the marshy land around Babylon, and the conservation of the surplus water of the spring floods. When Babylonian prosperity was at its height two great systems of canals had been built. The one fertilised the country between the two rivers; the other the land east of the Tigris. In the first system four great canals carried off the surplus waters of the Euphrates and flowed into the Tigris below Bagdad. Minor canals, running from these main systems, irrigated the black alluvial plains which lay between the two rivers. Here is a typical clause from Hammurabi's code—

“If a man has neglected to strengthen his bank of the canal and a breach has opened out itself in his bank and the waters have carried away the meadow, the man in whose bank the breach has been opened shall render back the corn which he has caused to be lost.”

King Hammurabi knew well that nothing would make his memory remain green in the land between the two rivers so surely as his work upon the national irrigation scheme. Therefore, on the great basalt stele, he set this boast—

"Hammurabi is the blessing of mankind, which brings the waters of fertility to Sumir and Akkad. Its two banks I made into cultivable land. I set up granaries and provided water for the land of Sumir and Akkad for ever."

Not "for ever," as it proved. To-day, the greater part of Babylonia is a bare plain. Here and there a patch of green tells of a small canal furnishing water enough to allow of primitive agriculture. But it is difficult to believe that the stretch of whitish-brown desert with its stunted tamarisks and its marshy wastes once supported the armies of Sennacherib and Tiglath-Pileser, of Ashur-bani-pal and Xerxes. The cities over which these conquerors ruled are mounds of stiff, grey clay, pitted with crevasses worn by the tropical rainstorms.

Yet, as I write, the British victories in Mesopotamia have already resulted in a considerable revival of the old irrigation agriculture in order to provide food for the Army of Occupation. Directly Bagdad was taken, a hundred canals on the Hilleh branch of the Euphrates were dug out and over 300,000 acres of land brought under cultivation. Some 14,000 Arabs were employed on the work of clearing the old canals and cutting new ones. While the war was still in progress sufficient corn was grown to supply the whole population of Babylonia as well as the Army of Occupation.

Sir William Willcocks, the Egyptian irrigation expert, proposes to reconstruct all the main irrigation systems which existed in Babylonia before the incursions of the Mongols and Tartars (after 1225 A.D.).

For a capital expenditure of £8,000,000 Sir William suggests that it is possible to reclaim 1,280,000 acres of land from the desert and the marsh. As cultivable land, the reclaimed district should be worth £30 per acre under such crops as cotton, sugar, Indian corn, wheat and tobacco. A second Hammurabi may yet arise and prove an Englishman rather than a Semite as of old. No big stele of black basalt will record his deed, but the world will be in debt to the man who once more brings the waters of fertility to Sumir and Akkad and makes its banks into cultivable land.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

BABYLONIA AND EGYPT

- (1) What do you know of Henry Thomas Buckle?
- (2) Mention some of the effects of climate upon the peoples of India.
- (3) Describe the irrigation system of Ancient Egypt.
- (4) Characterise Hammurabi of Babylon.

CHAPTER III

THE EGYPTIAN CONQUERORS

“Thousands of years. . . .

“And the travellers come and gaze—and go away again, wondering what they meant who made such things;

“The philosophers of Greece come, and Alexander comes, and the Roman Emperors come; and the Christian fathers and monks (fit successors of the Egyptian) and the Mahomedan conquerors, and Napoleon, and the scientific men, come—and go away again;

“And the wandering Arabs come and light their camp fires—and go away again; and the Cook’s tourist comes.”

EDWARD CARPENTER’s lines upon the twin statues of Amenhotep III. at Thebes recall a familiar thought—the thousands of years which have passed since Egyptian civilisation was in being. We think less often about an equally long and an even more significant stretch of time—that in which Egyptian civilisation was in the making. The history of Ancient Egypt from King Mena to Cleopatra represents almost 3500 years. There are archæologists, of whom Professor Flinders-Petrie is the chief, who estimate the period at more than 5000 years. Which-ever figure is right, the strange fact is that so little of national significance was chronicled in so long a time. Consider what 3500 years means. From our

own age we work back past the Norman Conquest to the fall of Rome, and we have not spent half our span of years. Go back through the years of the Roman Empire and come to the time when the Druids were a power in England, and London was not. Leaving our own island story, pass through the years of the Roman Republic to the golden age of Greece, and at last to the poet Homer. Still there are 500 years to spare. What a wealth of human experience has been crowded into the years between Homer and to-day. Yet, in ancient Egypt, century after century, millions of children were born and died as old men and women with scarcely a thought beyond eating and drinking, working and sleeping. Making every allowance for scanty records, surely there was more variety of experience in 250 years of national life in France or England than in the whole span of Egyptian nationhood.

Of the thirty dynasties who ruled in Egypt perhaps six contributed materially to the national experience, as evidenced by outstanding personalities, by foreign conquest, internal rebellions, or the setting up of great public buildings and memorials. The pyramid builders of the Fourth Dynasty (2900-2750 B.C.), Senefru, Khufu, and Khafra, were followed by the energetic rulers of the Sixth Dynasty, including King Pepi I. Then came an interval of 500 years, of which the records tell us practically nothing. The period ended with the advent of the great builders and canal factors of the Twelfth Dynasty (2000-1788 B.C.), by name Amenemhet, or Sesostris, only to be followed by another lapse of 200 years, during which the Egyptians

seem to have been ruled by Syrian invaders, known as the Hyksos or Shepherd kings, of whom the Pharaoh of Joseph was one. The fall of the Hyksos kings was brought about by Ahmose I. (Amasis), the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which ruled from about 1580 to 1350 B.C. For the first time Egypt embarked upon a policy of national expansion. For 2000 years or more the Egyptian kings had been content with a purely defensive policy, and fighting had been confined to struggles with the Libyans, Nubians and neighbouring African tribes. About 1500 B.C., however, Thothmes I. and Thothmes III. marched armies along the shore of the Mediterranean and into the valley of the Orontes in Syria. About the same time Queen Hatshepsut sent a famous expedition to the land of Punt at the entrance to the Red Sea. The temples, palaces, and memorials at Thebes, Karnak and Luxor testify to the wealth and power which came to the Eighteenth Dynasty kings through their aggressive policy in Syria. Amenhotep III. (Memnon) also waged wars in Syria, his buildings and memorials including the two colossal statues of himself at Thebes which inspired Edward Carpenter's poem. A national experience of another type came with Amenhotep IV. in the form of a Reformation. Influenced by his Syrian mother, Queen Ti, Amenhotep IV. (Ikhnaton) initiated a movement against the worship of the god Amon, at Thebes. In its place he proposed a monotheism in the form of the worship of the god of the Sun Disk. In token of this tremendous change Amenhotep IV. moved his capital from Thebes

to the spot now known as Tell el-Amarna. The Egyptian Reformation lasted for Amenhotep's life, but no longer.

The Nineteenth Dynasty (1350 to 1205 B.C.) was also famous in Egyptian annals. The kings, headed by Rameses I., Seti I. and Rameses II., waged war with the Hittites in Syria. Seti was the builder of the great Hall of Columns at Karnak. His record as a conqueror and builder, however, was eclipsed by his son, Rameses II. (Sesostris), whose personal bravery seems to have saved the day for Egypt during the historic battle with the Hittites at Kadesh on the Orontes. Rameses II. was the builder of the Ramesseum, the famous temple of victory at Thebes, and the wonderful rock-hewn temple of Abu Simbel, in Nubia. The story of Kadesh is recorded on the walls of the victor's temples. In the reliefs on the Ramesseum we see the king surrounded by Asiatic chariots, the chiefs of which have fallen before the royal arms. The Syrian fugitives have reached the river; some of them, such as the King of Aleppo, are being rescued by their allies on the other bank. The Hittite king can be seen with his 8000 footmen. In the corner of the relief is the double-moated city of Kadesh.

If you would know Egyptian civilisation in its golden glory, picture Thebes at the close of the long reign of Rameses II. The city lies at the bend of the Nile, where the desert on the western side sheers away to the Libyan Hills, leaving a broad plain. To-day, ancient Thebes is represented by four groups of ruins. The slopes of the western hills are honey-

combed with tombs, among them being those in the Valley of the Kings. On the western bank can still be seen the temples of Seti I. and Rameses II. Near by the Ramesseum is the great colossus, of which Shelley wrote the sonnet, "Ozymandias." The ruins of Luxor, on the eastern bank, contain the beautiful temple of Amenhotep III., while at Karnak near by is a group of temples built by various Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasty kings. The conquests of the Egyptian kings did little for the people of Egypt, but they did much for Thebes. The treasures of Amon were filled with booty. Amon's priests were raised to high office in the State.

Imagine the temple of the god Amon at Karnak. It was approached by a great paved causeway from Luxor, 76 feet broad, and bordered with carved sphinxes. The circuit of the temple walls was two and a half miles, entrance being by way of the great pylon, a massive gateway 76 feet high and 200 feet wide. Before the pylon stood two obelisks, each as big as Cleopatra's Needle. Near by were colossal statues of the royal founders of the temple, each 30 or 40 feet high.

Pass under the pylon and into the great open court beyond. It was bordered with columns and enclosed by the temple walls. In the middle were twelve pillars, marking the processional way to the central Hall of Columns. Seventy-six feet in height, the hall is 340 feet long and 170 feet wide. The roof is supported by a maze of columns, 134 in all. The central ones are 70 feet high, each as big in girth as the Column of Trajan.

And the worshippers in these courts and this Hall of Columns? An Egyptian temple was not a church. It was not intended for a congregation after the modern manner. The temple was rather a store-house for the sacred objects of the god and a fit setting for the processions of priests which were the outstanding feature in Egyptian ritual. These processions were marshalled in the Hall of Columns. Thence they made their way to the open courts, each with its central pool and its wealth of richly coloured flowers. On occasional feast days the people gathered in the fore-court and shared in the food offerings. But for the most part the priests were alone. The holy of holies lay behind the great Hall of Columns, and here stood the image of the god, a small figure of wood, but richly adorned with gold and jewels. The priestly ritual and the public worship alike consisted in furnishing the deity with such tokens of earthly satisfaction as food and clothing, music and dance.

The great paved causeway with the carved rams and sphinxes; the slender obelisks and masts fronting the massive pylon; the succession of courtyards with their pools and their flowers; the many-columned hall, with its wonderful play of light and shade; the mystery of the sanctuaries beyond: the memory of these things makes a deep appeal to the lover of the beautiful and the sacred. But when you turn to the more rational and balanced graces of a Greek temple, ask yourself what is the dominant feeling aroused by a great Egyptian temple. Is it not the awe which arises from overpowering size and mass?

Do not be hasty in answering. Ponder over the problem.

Here is Maspero's impression of the Hall of Columns at Karnak—

"He who stands for the first time in the shadow of these overwhelming columns—this forest of mighty shafts, the largest ever erected by human hands—crowned by the swelling capitals of the nave, on each one of which a hundred men may stand together; he who observes the vast sweep of its aisles, roofed with hundred-ton architraves, and knows that its walls would contain the entire cathedral of Notre Dame and leave plenty of room; he who notes the colossal portal over which once lay a lintel block over forty feet long and weighing some 150 tons—will be filled with respect for the age which produced this, the largest-columned hall ever raised by man."

Respect, yes! A deep awe, yes! But an ever-deepening sense of satisfaction; will a great Egyptian temple give us that?

With Rameses III. came an end of the days of foreign conquest for hundreds of years. Shishak, the protector of Jeroboam, who came up against Jerusalem and took away the treasures of the House of the Lord and the treasures of the King's House, as told in the fourteenth chapter of the First Book of Kings, is the best-known of the later Egyptian kings. The end of purely Egyptian civilisation came when Psammetichus, the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (666 to 527 B.C.), brought Greeks in great numbers into Egypt and even made up his personal bodyguard of Ionians and Carians. Necho, his son, defeated and slew Josiah of Judah at Migdol, in

608 B.C., but was in turn defeated at Karamish by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. The Persian invasion, the conquest by Alexander, and the establishment of the kingdom of the Ptolemies followed, the end coming in 30 B.C., when Queen Cleopatra died and Egypt became a Roman province.

THE RELIGION OF EGYPT

It was not in these later centuries of stress and change that the distinctively Egyptian civilisation was fashioned, the character of which is best seen in the religious beliefs of the people. The religious thought of Egypt, and the methods by which it found expression in art and dogma, were elaborated during the centuries when the deserts practically shut off the Nile Valley from the rest of the world. Just as the effects of the river must be borne in mind when considering the economic and social conditions in Egypt, so the deserts to east, west, and south must be remembered when we approach the problem of Egyptian science, art and religion. Variety of experience is essential for success in all three. We must ask ourselves what was the effect of their curiously limited experience upon the imagination of the dwellers in the Nile Valley.

That religion was a very real thing to the Egyptians is beyond doubt. No community could have had a vaster complexity of tribal and civic deities. No people has acknowledged more fully the power of the priesthood. At all times the Egyptian was obsessed with the thought of the Other World, and a life

beyond the grave. Amid much that was degraded and material, there were some purer forms of belief. But, as a whole, the Egyptians were incapable of selecting the good from the evil; still less could they fuse the religious elements into a coherent and consistent whole.

I have no intention of suggesting any detailed study of Egyptian religion and mythology. It is a subject of little practical value to most people. Instead, I would suggest the examination of a single aspect of the theme. In Lincoln Inn Fields there is the Museum of Sir John Soane, the well-known architect who built the Bank of England. The Museum contains some of the finest Hogarths in London, some good Turners, and the great alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I. (died 1292 B.C.), the father of Rameses II. It is this sarcophagus we are in search of.

Many of my readers may be unable to seek out the sarcophagus. Those who cannot may purchase the special catalogue compiled by Dr. Wallis Budge, for many years keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum. Add the book to your library. The book is fully illustrated, and gives a lively idea of much more than the single sarcophagus it professedly describes.

This sarcophagus of Seti I. is a thing of beauty as well as of interest. Hewn from a single block of alabaster, it is 9 feet 4 inches long, almost 4 feet wide, and 2 feet 8 inches high. After the alabaster was polished the whole of the sarcophagus, inside and out, was carved with pictures and hieroglyphics. Each carving

was filled with a thick paste of copper. The vivid bluish green of the copper paste must have stood out brilliantly from the intense white of the alabaster. When the body of Seti I. was first placed in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings more than 3200 years ago, the sarcophagus was surmounted by a cover carved with a head of Seti and other decorations. The cover has been largely destroyed, but the rest of the sarcophagus is almost perfect, apart from the flaking away of the green copper paste from the pictures and hieroglyphics.

But our concern is not with the craftsmanship of the alabaster coffin, or even with the curious adventures of the sarcophagus and mummy of Seti I., entertaining as these would be. Rather it is with the conception of the life after death revealed in the pictures and inscriptions. The Egyptian was at all times preoccupied with the idea of death. He regarded his body as a battlefield on which good and evil spirits struggled for mastery. He wore amulets and repeated spells to assist the good spirits, or counter the demons, as the case might be. When a partial victory came for the evil spirits at the time of death, the Egyptian's one dread was that the mal-demons would interfere with his enjoyment of the next life as they had done with the life he was just losing.

The sarcophagus of Seti, as elucidated by Dr. Budge, affords a unique opportunity for studying these beliefs. Spend a little time upon this small book. It is better to do this than to wander for hours amid mummy cases, amulets, carved tombs

THE EGYPTIAN CONQUERORS

and the like, picking up stray bits of information such as can be found in any great Egyptian collection. Understand the sarcophagus of Seti and you will be in a position to understand all the rest.

At the bottom of the sarcophagus, on the inside, is painted a great figure of the goddess Nut, Queen of the Night. Seti in his coffin was supposed to lie above the sky in the arms of the goddess of the Night, while Ra, the Sun-god, shed his light on the dead man from the inner side of the sarcophagus cover. All around, within and without, the alabaster sarcophagus is inscribed with a guide to the Tuat, or Egyptian Other World, through which the soul of the dead man was supposed to pass on his way to the Judgment Hall of Osiris and the Egyptian Elysian Fields.

The Egyptians imagined the world as flat and enclosed by impassable mountains, the lofty chain being pierced at two places, one in the east and the other in the west, through which the Sun entered and departed each day. The Tuat was, therefore, also imagined to be a region of darkness, save when the Sun-god reappeared each evening on his journey back to the eastern break in the mountain chain. Following the earthly analogy, the Other World was divided into twelve sections, each entered by a gate and each guarded by a serpent. The twelve gates with their twelve guardians give a convenient title to the book of magical incantations inscribed on the sarcophagus of Seti—the Book of Gates.

I have no desire to spare my reader the pleasurable trouble of reading Dr. Budge's transcription of "The

Book of Gates." It is written in the form of a description of the journey of the dead Sun-god. He is pictured as seeking the Judgment Hall of Osiris each night, as does the human soul at the end of life. The journey is made by boat along the great river which flowed through the Tuat as the Nile flowed through Egypt itself. As the boat floats into the Sector of the First Hour, the dead Sun-god cries "Let there be Light." Breath, food and drink are given to the dwellers in the sector, who have been waiting for twenty-three weary hours for the coming of the god. As the boat passes on there arise cries and lamentations from the dwellers in the Sector of the First Hour. So it is in each division of the Other World. There is light and rejoicing for an hour as the Sun-god moves through to the Judgment Hall; then the darkness of the grave once more.

Already, the analogy of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* of Dante will have occurred to my readers. Put the Book of Gates to this test. Ask yourself how does it compare with the great poem which sums up the thought of mediæval Christendom on the same subject? In the Egyptian "underworld," we note the reward of good living and the punishment of bad, as in Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Generally speaking, the good are to be found on the right side of the ghostly river and the bad on the left, the good being those who praised Ra on earth and spoke the truth concerning the god. Their satisfaction is to drink the cool waters of Truth, waters which turn to fire, if tasted by the blasphemers of Ra.

Here is a thought which might have well appealed

to the imagination of Dante. But in the Book of Gates, such an idea is only part of a curious medley of meaningless and infantile thought. At one time, the passage of the Sun-god's boat is obstructed by a tube with a bull's head at each end, the whole borne by seven gods. Through this tube the boat must pass. Why? No one knows, no one cares. In the Sector of the Fourth Hour we read of a Lake of Life, guarded by twelve jackals and ten living Uraei. In the lake, the Sun-god bathes that he may renew the strength of his fires. A flash of inspiration this. But it only serves to throw into stronger relief the absurdities of the ever-growing complexity of the serpent myths. This reaches its climax in the fantastic episode of the serpent Apep, who is guarded by four gods armed with curved knives, and four other gods, each having four snakes as heads. Even these are insufficient, so sixteen additional gods are called in. They, in turn, are assisted by a "Hidden Hand" which rises from the ground and clutches at the chain which binds Apep. From this part of the chain grow the god Seb and four sons of the god Horus, each of whom holds fast another serpent ally of Apep. By the aid of these twenty-nine or thirty supernatural helpers the Boat of the dead Sun-god is saved from this particular danger and passes on to the new dawn.

Is further proof needed that the imagination of the Egyptian was, in truth, no imagination at all? The Book of Gates is a result of the play of a child-like fancy, ready to pile incongruity upon incongruity. Much of the Book of Gates is no more than a transfer of some familiar episode in the earthly Nile

Valley to its counterpart in the Egyptian Other World. In the Sector of the Fifth Hour, for example, we find a dwelling-place for the souls of the four races of mankind among whom Egyptian belief divided the inhabited world—the Asiatics, the Libyans, the Negroes and the Egyptians. In the Fifth and Sixth Sectors are found men labouring in the wheatfields, “glorious in the land through the light of Ra.” Here, also, are the book-keepers, time-keepers and foremen responsible for the provision of the celestial *corvée*. Here, too, are the ghostly holders of the measuring-cord by which the fields of the Blessed were duly allotted to each newcomer. There are even celestial beings who provide the sand which is spread over the fields as a top dressing. So real was this agricultural domain of the Other World to the fancy of the Egyptians, that, in life-time, they bethought themselves of providing a substitute for their own labour. This was the well-known Ushabti, or Answerer. A typical inscription upon one of these Answerers is put into the mouth of the dead man—

“In the event of my being condemned to lay dust on the fields of the Tuat, or to fill the watercourses with water from the river, or to reap the harvest, let such work be performed for me by thee, to whose work no obstacle will be put in the way.”

The Ushabti figure answers: “Verily, I am with thee, wheresoever thou mayst speak.”

There is the same unquestioning acceptance of incongruities in the Trial Scene before Osiris in the Hall of the Double Truth. The Judge himself is in

Mummy form, wearing the crowns of Northern and Southern Egypt. Thoth, the scribe of the gods, is at hand to record the judgment. This judgment depends upon the weighing of the dead man's heart against a sparrow, the symbol of wickedness, or an ostrich feather, the symbol of righteousness. It is typical of the unreality of the whole proceedings that no Egyptian was in the least interested in the fate of those whose hearts failed to outweigh the sparrow. As the possessor of one of the Books of the Dead, every man was assured of success. Each possibility had been considered and the due spell prepared. Gods or demons could be faced without fear, if only their name was known. If the dead man was provided with the name of a gate, it was bound to fly open.

Mentally, as well as politically, the Egyptians were a "soft" people. They were a nation who never grew up. The flat country tended to subjugate both the imagination and the understanding. There was no premium upon a life of adventure. The Egyptian's whole existence, apart from the ruling class, was a routine devoid of responsibility and making little demand upon the judgment and the sense of enterprise in the individual. A papyrus in Berlin records a peasant addressing his lord as "the rudder of heaven, the buttress of tottering walls, the great master who takes whoever is without a master to lavish on him the goods of his house—a jug of beer and three loaves each day."

So Buckle's analysis justifies itself. A land of plenty, Egypt was this. But with a plenty of food

went the over-plus of labour which made for serfdom and the poverty which breeds ignorance. The very fertility of the Nile Valley brought it about that the Egyptian for thousands of years was content to barter his mind and his soul for a jug of beer and three loaves a day. He was content with this in life; and so well content that he looked for little more in the eternity of death.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

THE EGYPTIAN CONQUERORS

- (1) Name the six outstanding dynasties of Egypt, giving a reason for your selection.
- (2) What was the effect of the desert upon Egyptian character?
- (3) Describe an Egyptian tomb.
- (4) Compare a typical Egyptian and Greek statue.
- (5) Were the Egyptians a religious people?

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS

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| Hammurabi of Baby- lonia. | Abraham, 2000 B.C. | Joseph in Egypt. |
| Rameses II. of Egypt | Moses, 1250 B.C. | Pharaoh of the Op- pression. |
| David, 1000 B.C. | The Jewish Kingdom. | Temple of Solomon, 958 B.C. |
| Hezekiah, 700 B.C. | The Assyrian Con- querors. | Sennacherib. |
| Capture of Jerusalem. | Nebuchadnezzar, 568 B.C. | Psalm cxxxvii. : “By the waters of Babylon.” |
| Jeremiah (626-586 B.C.) | Prophets of the Exile. | Ezekiel, 600 B.C. |
| Ezra and the Bible. | Return of the Jews to Jerusalem. | The “Second” Isaiah, 538 B.C. |
| The Apocrypha | Judas Maccabæus died, 161 B.C. | The Messiah. |

IN introducing my general theme, I made use of the phrase “studying history all your lives and knowing it not.” I propose to illustrate what I had in mind in the following chapter, which deals with the history of the Jews in Old Testament times. Here, at any rate, there can be no ignorance of the facts. The chapter will, therefore, largely consist of a restatement of the Bible narrative in historical form. The Bible, it is true, is a chronicle of the Jewish people. But it is also a collection of works of literary art and a summary of religious belief and ritual. It will be an interesting, as well as an instructive exercise, to restate the main episodes of Jewish history, as set

out in the Old Testament, so that the new statement satisfies the historical judgment.

Poems, novels, speeches and many other forms of human expression similarly furnish matter for history when regarded "historically." You will find that your knowledge is not really an organic and a growing thing until you have acquired the habit of thinking historically, so that very many things which seemed to you to bear no relation to history in times past are found to be full of suggestion.

The facts which I propose to correlate are set at the head of this chapter. Some of them will amplify and elucidate our first impression of Babylonian and Egyptian history. King Hammurabi lived at the time of Abraham. It has been suggested that he was the Amraphel, King of Shinar, mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. Rameses II. of Egypt was not only an incident in Jewish history; he was one of the heroes of Egyptian conquest. So with such men as Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar. They cannot be confined to Babylon or Assyria. The student requires a lively idea of such men for use in any department of general history. Indeed, no civilisation can be rightly understood apart from the rest. This is the final justification for the study of general history.

And now to take up our theme once more.

Had there been no Jewry, no Hellas, and no Rome, we should look with a wonder approaching worship upon the achievements of the great Asiatic canal-builders, the makers of Karnak and Luxor, and even upon the framers of the Book of Gates. But judged

by the test of tests—whether an institution of the past feeds the life of to-day—it would seem that something was wanting in Egypt and Mesopotamia. What that something was we will seek in the story of a tiny tribe, with none of the wealth and power of its mighty neighbours. Yet, it gave to the world an inspiration still potent in the lives of men and even in the history of nations.

FROM ABRAHAM TO MOSES

Canaan, the land of promise, lay between the upper millstone of Babylo-Assyria and the nether millstone of Egypt. When it is remembered that the glory of Solomon coincided with a period of Assyrian inactivity which followed the conquests of Tiglath-pileser I. (1050 B.C.), and also coincided with a similar inactivity on the part of the Egyptian conquerors, we have a plain hint as to the source of Jewish civilisation. The Hivites, the Amorites, the Moabites, and a score of other peoples living in Palestine, passed away leaving little beyond the memory of their names. The Jews persisted. Why? What is more, the poetry in which the deepest insight of the Jews found expression has also persisted. Why?

These are the problems we must answer when we consider the history of Palestine.

Abraham, the first of the Hebrews, was a man of Ur in Chaldæa, a town on the Persian Gulf and the seat of a dynasty which was dominant in Babylonia in early times, and even claimed sovereignty over Canaan before the time of the patriarch. Abraham

seems to have been dispossessed of his lands about the time of the Semitic rulers of whom Hammurabi is the best known. Abraham determined to emigrate to a distant part of the Babylonian Empire, and chose Canaan, much as an Irishman of the nineteenth century, in trouble with the authorities at home, might have settled in Canada or Australia. On his journey Abraham and his followers despoiled a party of Babylonian raiders, who were returning from a successful campaign against Sodom and Gomorrha, on the Dead Sea. He also came into passing contact with the town of Jerusalem through the person of its ruler, Melchizedek, high priest of Salem.

In the monotheism of Abraham, in the sacred city of Jerusalem, and the intercourse with Babylonia, we have the elements of Jewish history.

After the time of Abraham, several hundred years elapsed before a definite change came in the direction of the establishment of a Hebrew nation. There was the memory of Abraham and the record of his religious faith, but no more. Canaan continued in constant contact with the civilisations of Egypt and Babylon on the south and east and the growing power of the Hittite Empire to the north. Chance circumstances led to the raising of the Hebrew Joseph to the vice-royalty of Egypt early in the sixteenth century under the Shepherd kings. Later, an invitation was extended to Joseph's kinsmen to settle in the pastoral lands to the south-east of Palestine, on the Egyptian border. A century or so later the Shepherd kings were expelled by Ahmose I. (Amasis), the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Two possibilities now

suggest themselves. The Israelites were of similar race to the expelled Shepherd kings. Their condition may therefore have changed for the worse. On the contrary, the time of the Oppression may have been deferred for a while. When Thothmes III., about 1453 b.c., brought Palestine under the direct rule of the Pharaohs, he was doubtless assisted by some of the pastoral tribes of southern Palestine. These may well have been granted tracts of country on the borders of Egypt, the land of Goshen. Thus the numbers of the Jacob tribe increased. Dwelling under the protection of Egypt, the children of Israel were free from cattle raids by hostile pastoralists and in touch with the great markets of the Nile Valley. I purposely put this argument in the form of a supposition. Never be afraid of a good guess, coupled with the qualification that "we cannot be certain." Remember that we are seeking a vision of history which will accommodate itself to fresh facts. You will find a fuller and more scientific theory in Dr. Burney's Schweich Lectures (1917) (Oxford Press). However they came about, some such conditions were enjoyed by the Israelites during their first contact with Egyptian civilisation.

After the days of Thothmes III. the influence alike of Babylon and Egypt declined in Canaan. The country north of Carmel passed into the hands of vassals of the Hittites. A century went by before Egypt was again powerful enough to send an army into Syria. In the fifth year of his reign Rameses II. fought the battle of Kadesh, celebrated in the Egyptian epic, the "Song of Pentaurt," After twenty

years of strife, Rameses made peace with the Hittites, having extended the Egyptian boundary to mid-Lebanon. Rameses devoted the rest of his long reign to building at Karnak, Abydos and Luxor, and to the making of the granary towns of Rameses and Pithom (Succoth) in the delta, near the land of Goshen. A papyrus roll tells that the Apriu (Hebrews) were employed in the work. If Rameses II. was the Pharaoh of the Oppression, Merenptah, his son, may have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The dates are uncertain. Of the fact of "The Oppression" there can be no reasonable doubt. As Ottley has said, "it is inconceivable that a free people should have stamped on the memory of their ancestors the brand of a disgraceful servitude unless it had a foundation of historical truth."

Owing to their position on the Egyptian borders, the Hebrew tribes were never absorbed into the general body of the people of the Pharaohs. They were numerous enough to make dispersal difficult, even if it had been attempted. The hardships of semi-slavery, coupled with the memory of happier times, must often have suggested to the Hebrews the possibility of a return to the old pastoral life in southern Palestine.

MOSES, WHO CREATED A PEOPLE

It was at this time that Moses arose, "the great artist who took a poor shepherd stock and created therefrom a people." A stranger in a strange land, he had the advantage of education in all the lore of

Egypt. Coming to manhood, he realised the desperate condition of his countrymen even more clearly than they did themselves. It was during his sojourn in Midian that Moses formulated his life's purpose. Living with a few wandering shepherds, with their single patron God, the polytheistic distractions of Egypt were put on one side. A portable ark, carried on bearing poles, replaced the myriad deities of the Nile Valley. When Moses returned to his kinsfolk in Goshen, he was able to speak with full conviction of the great "I AM, the Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob."

Moses was welcomed by the elders of the Hebrews, first as a friend, and then as a leader of the party favouring exodus. In Midian, Moses had acquired the knowledge of desert life essential if a large body of people were to be led into Palestine. Not only had the sorrows of the Hebrews been multiplied, but political circumstances were favouring such a move. Under the successors of Rameses II. Egypt had become weaker in Palestine and less able to resist a determined effort by a subject race to escape from captivity. At first Moses was oppressed with the difficulty of his mission. He made the lame request to Pharaoh that the people should go three days into the wilderness to pray. But, as with all really great men, the early want of success made the problem clearer. Above all, he came to see the inspiration which lay in the belief in a single tribal god.

The idea of a single, all-powerful deity was not unfamiliar in Egypt. As we have seen, Amenhotep IV.

(1375–1358 b.c), under the influence of his Syrian mother, Queen Ti, introduced a sort of solar monotheism, and founded a new capital at Tell el-Amarna in place of the polytheistic Thebes. True, the Reformation of Amenhotep was shortlived. The successors of Amenhotep IV. returned to Thebes and the worship of Amon. But whereas the belief in a single God proved valueless in Egypt, Moses made it the basis of Jewish national life. Every obstacle to his ambition made him clarify and strengthen this idea of an all-creating and all-ruling deity. In the God of Abraham Moses saw a power potent enough to counter Pharaoh. Before the time of Moses, real and lasting belief in a single God had been impossible. Why? Surely because no man had been under the same compelling necessity to make monotheism the subject of clear and continuous thought. Earlier men, Abraham and Amenhotep IV., had not doubted. Moses really believed. Because he believed, he brought conviction to others. By the idea of Israel's God being the only tribal God, Moses kindled a national spirit among the south Palestine people in the land of Goshen. When once a national spirit was aroused, what had been impossible became feasible—difficult, it may be, but possible.

The greatness of Moses is shown no less in the oneness of his aim. He might have aimed at kingship. He did not, feeling instinctively that the assumption of the title would weaken the idea of a single God which was welding the Joseph tribe and the other Canaanites into a unified whole. Always and ever, Moses insisted upon the potency of "I AM." So aided, he led the people from Rameses along the Wady Tumilat

to one of the two highways which ran from Egypt to Beersheba. The Sea of Reeds was crossed at a spot between Lake Timsah, then a part of the Red Sea, and the Bitter Lakes. Thence, by way of Marah, east of the Gulf of Suez, the people of Israel came to Sinai, where a theocracy was established on the Peak of Jebel Musa. "The glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle."

JEHOVAH, THE GOD OF ISRAEL

Every part of Jewish national life gained strength from the sense of the overruling providence of Israel's God. The code of laws secured regard, because it was believed to have been given amid the thunder of the Mount of God. Moses instituted no assembly of the people for legislative purposes. This was unnecessary among tribes who regarded their laws as the command of an unchangeable deity. When the Hebrews fought, they felt themselves under divine protection. Nor was any elaborate ritual required. The ark was a simple tent. The sole guardian was the young Ephraimite, Joshua, who slept within as Samuel slept in the sanctuary at Shiloh. Nevertheless, the forty years' test of the faith of the Israelites was essential. In Canaan itself union would have been impossible. As it was dissolution came quickly enough. How absolutely national unity depended upon belief in a single God is shown by the dispersal of the ten tribes. The creators of the Bible and the builders of the Temple at Jerusalem were the people of Canaan who accepted and held to the belief in one God. The rest were Hivites and Hittites; Jebusites and

Amorites; indistinguishable from the rest of the Canaanite unbelievers.

The "forty years" of wandering date from about 1225 B.C. The conquest of the land to the west of the Jordan dates from soon after 1200 B.C. At the time Babylonia was fully occupied with the growing power of Assyria. In Egypt, Rameses III. was threatened by attacks from the sea by Cretans and Greeks, while Canaan was attacked by an Indo-German people, the Philistines, who gave their name to Palestine, which means the land of the Philistines. Before the Hebrews crossed the Jordan, the Hittite power had been broken and was not revived for some hundreds of years. This gave the Israelites their opportunity.

The period covered by the Book of Judges was between 1200 B.C. and 1010 B.C., when Saul was crowned. During this time Tiglath-pileser I. arose in Babylonia. He was the first Assyrian king to reach the Mediterranean, but his conquests did not extend to Palestine. About 1080 B.C. the northern tribes of Judaea were able to shake off the rule of Sisera, the Hittite warrior. Deliverance came through the prophetess Deborah, who stirred up Barak, and, through him, the tribes of Issachar, Ephraim, Benjamin, West Manasseh, Zebulun and Naphtali. In the plain of Esdraelon, in the valley of Megiddo, Sisera was defeated (Judges IV.). In honour of the victory Deborah wrote her glorious war chant, praising Jehovah for the devotedness of the loyal tribes and taunting Reuben, Gad, Dan and Asher for refusing the battle call.

" Why abodest thou among the sheepfolds, to hear the bleating of the flocks ? Among the divisions of Reuben there were great searchings of heart.

Gilead abode beyond Jordan : and why did Dan abide in ships ? Asher continued on the sea shore, and abode by his creeks.

The kings came and fought, then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo ; they took no gain of money.

They fought from Heaven ; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.

The river Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the river Kishon. O my soul, march on with strength."

Deborah's chant closes with the taunt-song picturing the scene in Sisera's home on the banks of the Kishon—

" The mother of Sisera looked out of a window, and cried through the lattice : ' Why is his chariot so long in coming ? why tarry the wheels of his chariots ? '

Her wise ladies answered her ; yea, she returned answer to herself.

' Are they not finding ? have they not divided the spoil ? Double embroidery for the head of the hero, for Sisera a spoil of divers colours, a spoil of divers colours of needle-work ; of divers colours of needlework on both sides, meet for the neck of them that take the spoil ? '

So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord ; but let them that love Him be as the sun when he goes forth in his might."

Following the defeat of Sisera came the victory of Gideon over the Midianites, and the unsuccessful attempt of Gideon's son, Abimelech, to make himself king over Israel. The growing power of the Indo-European Philistines, finally, made a warrior king essential, and Saul was chosen about 1010 B.C. David,

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of Hebron, became sole ruler about 1000 B.C. He defeated the Moabites and Ammonites in the east, the Edomites and Amalekites in the south. Under his rule and that of his son Solomon, the Hebrews for a few years secured the hegemony in Canaan.

The establishment of a kingdom had just the result Moses anticipated. When Solomon set his palace by the side of Jehovah's Temple on Mount Zion, he brought destruction very near to the people of Israel. The ten tribes fell away from the king who ruled in Jerusalem until the prophet Elijah came to re-establish the worship of Jehovah.

THE ASSYRIAN CONQUERORS

In the years after Solomon's death, Omri, King of Israel, was the most prominent ruler in Canaan. His son Ahab, who died in 853 B.C., married Jezebel, a princess of Tyre. Her influence on her husband was such that Ahab built a temple to the Phœnician god, Baal, in Samaria, the city founded by Omri. At the time both Judah and Israel were hard pressed. Ahab and Joram fought with the Canaanites against Shalmaneser II. (860-825). Joram was also hard pressed by the Syrians, while Jehu, who had overthrown the dynasty of Omri in 842, paid tribute to Shalmaneser, in the hope of protection against Hazael of Damascus. A relief on the black obelisk in the British Museum shows the Israelites bringing presents, and bears this inscription :—

“Tribute of Jehu, of the house of Humri; silver, gold in bars, a cup of gold, a ladle of gold, golden cups, golden pails, tin, a staff for the hand of the king and spear shafts, I received.”

In 745 Tiglath-pileser III. usurped the throne of Assyria, and by 727 B.C. had secured Babylon. When Sargon came to the throne between 722 and 705 B.C., Assyrian power was at its greatest. Samaria was taken and 27,000 of its inhabitants were deported to Media. Judah was only saved by Hezekiah, who repulsed the expedition of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. Sennacherib was turned back from Jerusalem a second time owing to a plague. But every year the national danger increased. Esarhaddon, the heir of Sennacherib, rebuilt Babylon and increased its conquering power. In 668 Ashur-bani-pal, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, came to the Assyrian throne, his last years coinciding with the reign of Josiah of Judah, and the prophecies of Jeremiah. Josiah fell fighting the Egyptians near the fortress of Migdol. In 587 B.C. Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar and the period of the Captivity commenced.

The victory of Barak over Sisera gave Israel the "Song of Deborah," the establishment of the kingship the "Lament of David over Saul and Jonathan." The splendour of Solomon's court found expression in the lyrics of the "Song of Songs." Even the Captivity, which might well have broken up the Jewish people, only strengthened the spiritual bulwark which had proved again and again a more sure defence than a city's walls. Because the Captivity was a national anguish it gave to Israel the poetic visions of Jeremiah, of Ezekiel, of Daniel and the second Isaiah.

"Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.
Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her,

That her service is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned :

For she hath received at the Lord's hands double for all her sins."

The second Isaiah saw Israel as the servant entrusted with a mission to the Gentiles and privileged to bring, through her sufferings, the knowledge of God to all nations. As the years went by, the Jewish imagination found more and ever more in the idea of Jehovah which Moses had given them. Jehovah was no longer a merely tribal deity. The Jews visaged God from every standpoint; as the God of the home as well as the God of the nation; as the God of love as well as the God of battle. At last their conception of God transcended national limits and Israel's God was fitted to become the God of the World.

"Behold my servant, whom I uphold; my chosen, in whom my spirit delighteth;

I have put my spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles.

He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street.

A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench:

He shall bring forth judgment unto truth.

He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth;

And the isles shall wait for his law."

But the poets of Israel did more than justify God's dealings with their nation by this sublime teaching concerning the mission to the Gentiles. They also reconciled man's relationship to God with the fact

of human suffering. In the seventh century the accepted teaching was that of the 37th Psalm—

“ I have been young, and now am old ;
Yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken,
Nor his seed begging their bread.”

The captivity of the Jews in Babylonia led to new heart-searchings. Jeremiah's teaching was that suffering was a way of service and did not imply the anger of God. The writer of “ Job ” dealt still more surely with the problem of individual suffering, until he reached the sublime conviction—

“ He hath broken me down on every side and I am gone.”
“ But I know that my redeemer liveth, and he shall stand up at the last upon the earth.”

Already the sufferings of the Jews were preparing the world for the coming of Christ. But, first, man had to learn the full value of humanity. The knowledge came through the suffering of yet another small nation—the Greeks.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

THE JEWS

- (1) Are you sure Moses ever existed ?
- (2) What was the effect of the foreign policy of Thothmes III. upon the Jews ?
- (3) Did the Jewish conception of Jehovah differ from our idea of God ? If so, how ?
- (4) Criticise the nineteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings as an historic document.
- (5) What was the effect of the Captivity upon Jewish poetry ? Recall two examples.

FOREWORD UPON GREEK HISTORY

Another Note upon Methods of Study

No age, with the possible exception of the Italian Renaissance, has added to English letters books of more abiding charm than the golden age of Greece. Andrew Lang's *Theocritus*, Mackail's *Epigrams from the Anthology*, Gilbert Murray's *Euripides* and Jebb's *Sophocles*, are some which are delightful as English books, apart altogether from their value as translations.

It is good that this should be so. The lesson of Greece is essentially one to be learnt without the aching brow of scholarship, but easily, light-heartedly, as a tale that is told. The main facts can be found in Mr. C. A. Fyffe's history primer (Macmillan). If a larger text-book of Greek history is desired, that by Sir James Bury will be found most convenient. But, for the most part, the general reader may well trust to the books which have come down from the Greeks themselves and become a part of English letters. Translations of Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, Aristophanes and Aristotle can readily be secured. Add them one by one to your bookshelves.

These general suggestions are made for the benefit of the adult reader. Younger students will do better to rely entirely upon Mr. Fyffe's primer and add to

their store of impressions an occasional chapter from Herodotus or Thucydides. Thus the Funeral Speech of Pericles at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War has been published in booklet form by the Medici Society. Gilbert Murray's translation of Euripides' *Alcestis* should be an early possession. But for the most part a love and understanding of Greece come from the things seen—above all the marbles and bronzes of the British Museum. If you cannot see these, collect photographs and postcards of the more famous works in the British Museum, the Louvre, the Vatican, and other collections. Keep these pictures in historical order, first the works of the archaic and transitional periods, then those of the Golden Age by Phidias, Scopas and Praxiteles, and, lastly, the Alexandrian and Hellenistic works which include such treasures of art as the Venus of Melos.

Why is it so essential to have an understanding of Greek life and art? Because so much of our own life is based upon the Greek example and achievement. The Greeks were a nation of artists, and they can teach any one of us to make our lives what they should be, works of art. You will find this point of view set out in Dr. Butcher's *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, and it is for that reason that every adult student of Greek life should become acquainted with it early. Even the youngest reader should understand how closely Greek art and life are intertwined with much that is best in modern experience.

Do not read the whole of Dr. Butcher's book at once. Keep the Sophocles essay until you have learnt something of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides

from Sir Richard Jebb and Gilbert Murray. The essay, the "Dawn of Romanticism in Greek Poetry," can also wait; but in the "Written and the Spoken Word" you will find a delightful passage on note-taking anent

"The mere absorbers of books, or possessors of note-books, whose thinking is all in their note-books, not in their heads; there put by for future use against a day that probably never comes; knowledge not in hand but in store."

Or again, in the essay on the "Unity of Learning," there is a wise, yet generous, statement of the plea I voiced in our opening chapter, a plea which strikes home the more surely because Dr. Butcher couples "thoroughness and precision in the teacher and scholar with a wide horizon of knowledge." The treasure of a well-filled mind, he tells us, is not to be had without effort—

"True knowledge is not an extrinsic advantage, but a hard-won possession, personal and inalienable. It is an inheritance we must earn in order to possess it. It is not mere acquisition but mental enlargement, inward illumination."

But the essay to which I would direct your special attention is the opening one in Dr. Butcher's book—*What we owe to the Greeks*. It is the more valuable because the writer does not confine his attention to Greece, but has the civilisations of Egypt and Assyria always in mind. Best of all, he recalls that if we see life steadily and see it whole, we shall look for more than we can find even in Greece. We must unite

the Hebrew idea of a divine law of righteousness and of a supreme spiritual faculty, with the Hellenic conception of human energies, manifold and expansive, each of which claims for itself unimpeded play.

There is much that is akin in the genius of the Greeks and the Hebrews. Both were intensely national in their outlook. Each burst the narrow limits of its own nationality and, in dying to itself, lived for mankind. Yet if the resemblances are there, the contrasts were still greater. As Dr. Butcher wrote elsewhere—

“To the Hebrews it was committed to proclaim to mankind the one and supreme God, to keep alive His pure worship, to assert the inexorable moral law in a corrupt and heathen world. For the Greeks the paramount end was the perfection of the whole nature, the unfolding of every power and capacity, the complete equipment of the man and of the citizen for secular existence.”

You have read Dr. Butcher’s essay. Before we ask ourselves again what we owe to the Greeks, let us see what we owe to Dr. Butcher. On your behalf I find I have taken nine notes, each forty to sixty words, a convenient length for sheets of paper the size of a postcard. In note-taking, it is not essential to keep to the precise words of the writer. Indeed, the notes which follow are not verbatim. It may be that it is only a fact or an idea which you cannot trust your memory to retain. But, in the case of such a writer as Dr. Butcher, the turn of the phrase is probably what you will value. Take a full note, therefore, and add at the top of each of the nine sheets the name of the author and the essay. These notes will not be preserved in the order taken. You will interleave the

comments of other men on the same subject. Indeed, two of the following notes immediately coalesce into one, while notes (*d*) and (*h*) may conveniently be transferred to the notes covering the purpose of history in general and the need for visualisation dealt with in the introduction. You need not apologise for the liberty. The notes have become your own by virtue of the taking. Nor is any apology due to the author. He, too, is the richer and not the poorer, for the transfer. Of all commerce, that of the mind most surely benefits giver and receiver alike.

(a) GREEK POLITICAL LIBERTY

“ In Greece, first the idea of the public good, of the free devotion of the citizen to the state, of government in the interests of the governed, of the rights of the individual, took shape. Together with intellectual enfranchisement, Greece found political freedom. In the East society had fluctuated between despotism and anarchy. In Greece there was never a single master and a people of slaves. The kings ruled by the free consent of the governed.

(b) INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

“ The application of a clear and fearless intellect to every domain of life in Greece was connected with the awakening of the lay spirit. In the East the priests had generally held the keys of knowledge. Literature and science were branches of theology. In Greece the sacerdotal influence was slight.

(c) THE SAME

“ To Greece, then, we owe the love of Science, the love of Art, the love of Freedom; not Science alone, Art alone, or Freedom alone, but these vitally correlated with one another and brought into organic union. And in

this union we recognise the distinctive features of the West. The Greek genius is the European genius in its first and brightest bloom.

(d) IMAGINATIVE REASON

"In history, the Greeks were the first who combined science and art, reason and imagination. Thucydides, as one who has observed the shaping of events and seized their meaning, set himself to disengage the causes which produce them and traces them back to their hidden source in character.

(e) 'KNOW THYSELF'

"The Greeks before any other people of antiquity possessed the love of knowledge for its own sake. To see things as they really are was with them an instinct and a passion. The Eastern nations loved to move in a region of twilight, content with that half-knowledge which stimulates the religious sense. They shrunk in holy awe from the study of causes. In the clear gaze of the Greek there is no ignoble terror. All Greek literature and art respond to the command 'know thyself.'

(f) 'THE HOW AND THE WHY'

"A fragment of Euripides speaks of him as 'happy who has learned to search into causes,' who 'discerns the deathless and ageless order of nature, whence it arose, the how and the why.' But in the best times, thinking and doing, clear thought and noble action—did not to the Greek mind stand opposed.

(g) THE GREEK AS BORROWER

"How truly does all Greek literature and art respond to the command 'know thyself.' To the Greeks 'know thyself' meant not only to know *man* but—a less pleasing task—to know *foreigners*. Of Odysseus (Ulysses) it is said, 'many were the men whose towns he saw and whose minds he learned.' The Greeks borrowed from every source, but all that they borrowed they made their own.

(h) VISUALISATION

"The language of Greek authors owes its beauty in no slight measure to their directness of vision. They see the object they mean to describe, they do not recall it through the medium of books from literary reminiscence. The sharp outlines of the thought stand visibly before the mind."

I shall not attempt to set out the details of Greek history. The theme, the most wonderful in all knowledge, is essentially one into which you must plunge and be hopeful. The outstanding facts may be summarised thus—

| | | |
|------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| | Greeks cross the Balkan Mountains, 3000-1000 b.c. | |
| Troy, 1200 b.c. | Homer, 1000 b.c. | Crete, 1500 b.c. |
| Age of Colonisation. | The Ionian Settlements. | Age of Tyrants, 7th century. |
| Marathon, 490 b.c. | Persian Invasions. | Herodotus. |
| Salamis, 480 b.c. | | Themistocles |
| Pericles died 429 b.c. | Rebuilding of Athens | Parthenon, 438 b.c. |
| Euripides, 416 b.c. | Peloponnesian War, | Thucydides and the tragedy of Melos. |
| "Trojan Women" | 431 b.c. | |
| Ægospotami, 405 b.c. | Sicilian Expedition. | Supremacy of Sparta |
| Demosthenes died 322. | Macedonian Supremacy. | Alexander died 323. |
| Seleucid Empire. | Hellenistic Age, 300-50 b.c. | Coming of Rome. |

Instead of laboriously memorising the details of Greek politics and the Athenian and Spartan constitutions, take Dr. Butcher's seven or eight dicta and see if the Greek books, temples, plays, and statues answer to the tests. Read a play of Euripides, full of ritual as it is, and judge if it is priest-ridden. Take a chapter of Herodotus, say the description of Marathon; or a chapter of Thucydides, say the account of the speech of Pericles at the memorial service to those who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian War.

See if Greek history is not a wonderful blend of science and art, of reason and imagination. Compare the marbles and bronzes of Greece with those of Egypt and Assyria and decide for yourself if they seem to be the work of men who have known and love liberty.

Above all, see if Dr. Butcher is not right in the stress he lays upon the clear and fearless intellect of the Greek. The Greek's reliance upon the intellect lies at the root of his civilisation. If Hellenic sculpture was not convention-ridden as was the Egyptian, it was largely because of the Greek passion for science. "To see things as they really are was with them an instinct and a passion." Put Greek sculpture to this test and you will discover one reason why the art of carving in stone or moulding in bronze has never been surpassed during the 2000 years since Myron, Phidias, Praxiteles and Lysippus were working.

In the same way Greek sculpture, as well as Greek literature, owed much to the Hellene's directness of vision. He had seen the naked body under every aspect. He did not have to recall it, as most modern artists do, through the medium of his note-books. As he carved the marble or modelled the clay, the sharp outline of the man or woman stood visibly before the mind.

When you recall that this fearless intellectuality, this passion for scientific knowledge, this directness and clarity of vision, and this love of personal and national freedom, were the discoveries of the Greeks, and were won for us by the Greeks, you will see that the prime necessity in Greek history is to know how much we owe to the Greek people.

The historic problems suggested by Greek Sculpture are discussed at length in the present writer's *History of Sculpture*" (Heinemann).

The effects of the city-state system upon the Greek artist, the results of the defeat of the Persians at Marathon, the consequences of the downfall of the Athenian Empire and the transition to the Hellenistic style after the death of Alexander are among the problems discussed. A keen student should also read or consult the following standard works upon Greek Sculpture, in which fuller bibliographies will be found :—

Gardner (Ernest Arthur), *Ancient Athens* (Illustrated). Furtwangler and Urlich, *Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Translated). Murray (A. Stuart), *Greek Bronzes* (Portfolio) and *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (Illustrated). Gardner (Percy), *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* (Illustrated).

CHAPTER V

THE COMING OF THE GREEKS

No introduction to World History of the size of the present volume can deal adequately with such a theme as Ancient Greece. I have chosen, therefore, to introduce the subject with a general note upon the methods of study. Two strictly historical problems, however, may be singled out for more detailed analysis as typical of a hundred which will suggest themselves as your acquaintance with Greek life, art, and thought grows with the years. They are these—

Who were the Greeks?

Why did the Greeks do the world their great service, and not another people, living in another place, at another time?

Both questions are difficult, and neither can be fully answered with our present knowledge and insight. But the problems are among those for which every earnest student will seek a solution. In any case we can realise how the evidence should be marshalled and in what direction we must look for a full answer.

Let it be said at once that it is not a matter of race. There is no such thing as a Greek race, if Greek means “blood relationship.” The Greeks, like all other great nations, were of mixed descent. It may be that the bases of Greek civilisation were laid when the Mediterranean was an inland sea and the inhabitants

of southern Europe were free to roam in three continents. The earliest inhabitants of Greece were probably a people whose ancestors lived in northern Africa, and entered the *Æ*gean by way of Asia Minor. We will call them Pelasgians, remembering that the term means no more than this: it merely denotes the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece. These Pelasgians found life in the *Æ*gean region very different from that in the African highland; different also from the conditions in the open plains to the north of the Balkan mountains where their nearest neighbours dwelt.

MEN OF THE EUROPEAN PLAINS

These Pelasgians, however, were not the Greeks of history, or even their ancestors, if by ancestors we mean the creators of Greek thought and custom. For the real ancestors of the Greeks we must turn to the people of the Eur-Asian steppes, whom we have already considered in connection with the peopling of India. About the time the Hindu Aryans were making their way through the Kabul valley or the Khyber Pass into the Punjab and the Ganges valley, other steppe tribes were pushing along the Danube valley and thence into the Balkan areas, where they were the nearest neighbours of the Pelasgian inhabitants of Greece and the Greek islands.

Geographically speaking, Greece is made up of the lower slopes of the Balkans, the islands of the *Æ*gean being rugged hill-tops which have just escaped submergence in the Mediterranean. Existence on the mid-European plain was considerably easier than in the broken hill and valley country on the shores of

the Mediterranean, and progress towards a rude civilisation was proportionately rapid. In the north, corn was grown and weapons and tools improved. The dog was domesticated and the wild horse trained. Gradually some wealth was accumulated and a rude art arose. With wealth came fear of marauders. Trenches of earth were thrown up around the larger settlements; able-bodied men were trained for war; the war chief arose; fortresses were constructed at certain points of natural defensive strength. Around these the villages clustered and into them the villagers and country-folk fled in time of stress. As for polities, the decision of a father, or an assembly of fathers, had the potency of law, a decisive vote doubtless often coming from the war chief.

So life went on century after century. The pressure by the people of the Asian steppes, however, and occasional years of drought were causes of instability among the peoples of the European plains. From time to time swarms of sturdy, tall, blue-eyed, sand-haired invaders, speaking an Aryan dialect, crossed the Balkans and imposed their rule upon the short, dark-haired Pelasgians. They mated with Pelasgian women and in the course of centuries gradually lost their separate identity. Three or four thousand years before Christ, tribesmen bred in the central European plains were pouring into the valley of the Danube and the hilly districts of Armenia. By 3000 B.C. the effects of these incursions were being felt throughout Greece and Asia Minor. At the same time hordes of other invaders were pouring into northern Mesopotamia and eastern Asia Minor. We will call the western invaders Greeks, and the eastern

invaders Hittites; always remembering that the names are only convenient labels and do not connote any racial characteristics. Remember also, that in a century or so, the invaders were absorbed into the general body of the earlier population by intermarriage, and that their coming could only be traced by differences in social status, the introduction of a new vocabulary, or some distinctive custom. The tide of Greeks and the tide of Hittites tended to approach one another.

If you would visualise what was happening, draw a rough sketch map on a fairly large scale of the country between the Caspian Sea and the Adriatic, between the Carpathians and the southern shore of the Mediterranean. You will find that Asia Minor lies in the centre. On the one side are the islets and broken mainland of Greece; on the other, the flat plains of Syria and the fertile river valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Whereas the central plateau of Asia Minor and the lower slopes of the Armenian mountains were not unfavourable to the development of a strongly centralised power, the configuration of the country in Greece and on the western shores of Asia Minor favoured the separation of the inhabitants of the people into tribes.

THE HITTITES AND CRETANS

Geographical conditions in Greece thus perpetuated the tribal organisation which both the invaders from beyond the Balkans and their Pelasgian serfs had been accustomed to for many centuries. On the contrary, the Hittites tended to an imperial political

system, under the rule of a military despot. About 2000 B.C. a Hittite Empire was established, having its capital at Boghazkeui and a power comparable to that of Babylonia. By 1500 B.C. the Hittites were strong enough to invade Syria and fight the drawn battle at Kadesh on the Orontes with Rameses the Great himself.

To 1500 B.C. the Hittites had tended to spread eastward and southward rather than westward to the shores of the *Æ*gean. The Greek settlers in Asia Minor were accordingly free to develop their institutions. A strong Greek kingdom arose in Phrygia, while there were small Greek settlements on the coast, in the islands of the *Æ*gean, and on the mainland in Greece. Among them may be mentioned the Greco-Phrygian settlement at Hissarlik, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, better known as Troy. This was the site excavated by Schliemann, the inspired German tradesman, who first brought to light the wonderful pre-Hellenic civilisation of which we have yet to learn the full significance. Other settlements were Mycenæ and Tiryns in the south of Greece, commanding a trade route connecting the eastern and western Mediterranean, by way of the Isthmus of Corinth. Lastly, there was the settlement at Knossos, near Candia, in the island of Crete, revealed by the excavations of Sir Arthur Evans.

Crete was the Venice of antiquity. About 1500 B.C.—I am purposely using round figures in connection with dates—Crete seems to have gained the headship in a maritime confederacy which controlled commerce in the eastern Mediterranean, at the spot where eastern and western trade met. The Cretans had

intercourse with Egypt and Babylonia. Without going into details, we may say that a civilisation, which flourished in the Ægean area for 2000 years, reached its zenith about 1400 B.C. under a priest-king, who may be associated with the fable of Minos of Crete. The many-storeyed palaces of the Minoan priest-kings are comparable with the palaces of such monarchs as Ashur-nasir-pal or Ashur-bani-pal of Assyria. The elaborate domestic arrangements suggest that women had an honourable share in this Cretan civilisation. In one site a little bath-room with a painted clay bath was discovered, opening out of the queen's parlour. The whole subject of the discoveries of Schliemann and Sir Arthur Evans is fascinating in the extreme. A very pleasant introduction to the subject will be found in the opening chapters of *Greek Art and National Life*, by S. C. Kaines Smith, and a full summary in *Discoveries in Crete*, by Professor R. M. Burrows.

These tribal movements and varied civilisations, extending from the Euphrates to the Adriatic and the Mediterranean to the Danube and the eastern shore of the Black Sea, may seem confusing at first. But you will find the conjunction of events clear enough if you set out the facts on the sketch map, using a red and blue pencil to differentiate the various tribal movements. Place your original Greek stock in the Danube valley, with a blue arrow showing the western branch coming into Greece and the Ægean, and a red arrow showing the other branch coming into Armenia and eastern Asia Minor. Give a date to these incursions. Then put in the resulting settlements : at Boghazkeui, at Hissarlik (Troy), Mycenæ,

Tiryns and Knossos. With another arrow and another date show Rameses the Great advancing to the Orontes. Note also the danger threatening the Hittites from Babylonia. Then mark in Crete, recalling its intercourse with Egypt and its sea-power. Finally, sketch in the coming of the last invaders from the Danube valley, sharply differentiated from the earlier invasions shown by the blue-pencilled arrows. These latest invaders were the Dorians, the Æolians and the Ionians, who were the forerunners of the Hellenes. The Greek invaders did not even have a common name until the seventh century. Then they devised that of "Hellenes," and imagined a mythical ancestor, Hellen by name, with sons named Doros and Aiolos, and a grandson, Ion. They held the place in Greek story which Abraham, Israel and Joseph held among the Jews.

RISE OF HELLENIC CULTURE

Perhaps the civilisation of Crete may best be regarded as the highest state attainable by the people of Greece and western Asia Minor with the aid of geographical position alone. But geographical position in no way accounts for the myriad achievements in politics, science, art, philosophy, manufacture and literature which Dr. Butcher had in mind when he wrote of our debt to the Greeks. To account for this we must seek mental and spiritual circumstances, rather than material. The Cretans, Mycenaean and Trojans relied upon the strength of the huge cyclopean walls with which they surrounded their chief towns, and even these did not always suffice to save them

from their Hittite and other foes. Troy was built and rebuilt six times before it was finally destroyed by an incursion of other Greeks. Other Ægean tribes (and these were probably the wiser) abandoned their settlements on the coast of Asia Minor at the approach of a foe and took to their boats, or sought refuge on a friendly island. What the Mycenæans, Cretans and other early Greeks contributed to Hellenic culture was the energy, and varied experience of men and nature, developed during centuries of conflict with the Hittites and their fellow Greeks and Phrygians. Compared with the Hittites and their Pelasgian serfs, the Greeks were few in number. The fewness of the dominant class placed a big premium upon the wit, resourcefulness and intelligence of the individual. Physical fitness was as necessary as mental alertness if the man was to be saved from a slavery worse than death. And from this sense of the horror of slavery arose the faith in liberty of body, mind and spirit which was to be the keystone of Hellenic life and thought.

The downfall of Knossos, about 1400 B.C., was typical of the disasters which brought the whole Mycenæan civilisation to an end and made it the raw material of the fable-builders. A sudden raid from the sea one night and Knossos was sacked and burnt to its foundations. Century after century, we must imagine the northmen from beyond the Balkans continuing to come into Greece as the pressure upon the pastoral country in the central European plains increased. Each wave came under the rule of a warrior chief, a Hercules, an Achilles, an Ajax, or an Odysseus. If the newcomers (we will call them the Hellenes) could be distinguished from the earlier

invaders, it was by the fact that they, a nomad people, burned their dead, whereas the Mycenæans buried their chiefs in great beehive-shaped tombs. The newcomers also seem to have been familiar with iron tools and weapons, whereas the earlier inhabitants of Greece were only acquainted with bronze. The iron tools may have been the leverage which enabled the Hellenes to possess themselves of the Mycenæan cities, despite their cyclopean walls.

By about 1000 B.C. the conquest of Greece and the western coast of Asia Minor was completed. For the first time for many centuries there was also a cessation of the incursions from the north. Seek for the cause of this in the Asian steppes. The Hellenes, and the Pelasgian serfs, who now included many of the Mycenæan dominant class, settled down to the task of developing the Ægean area. As has been said, the work proved very different to any they had faced as pastoral rovers in the northern plains. It also differed widely from the task of the agriculturists and irrigationists of Egypt and Babylonia. In Attica the plains were almost grassless, though pigs and goats could feed on the low shrubs of the hill country. The corn crops were always poor; but the vine grew freely, and the oil of the olive-tree was a substitute for the butter of the northern cattlemen. Life was seldom easy. It called for enterprise which was quite outside the experience of the northern or eastern civilisations. Unlike the Egyptians, these Hellenes could not be called "soft" folk. The winds of winter blowing from the high lands of Thrace were bitter cold. The herdsmen visited the villages occasionally to sell their fleeces or exchange their goats'

milk cheese for corn and other imported goods. Even a chief had only the spoil of an occasional raid to enrich his treasury. The joy of the dominant class was to sit around the hearth of the war chief when the day's work was done and listen to the tale of some travelling minstrel. Thus it was that Homer, the first great Greek artist, arose about 1000 B.C. He told a plain tale of a raid by his countrymen upon Phrygian Troy, fusing a score of tribal lays into one artistic whole. The real greatness of Homer is not the tale, or even the unity of the fusion of incidents, wonderful as both are, but the fact that Achilles, Odysseus, Hector, Penelope, Nausicaa, Helen and the rest live in the imagination as real men and women. This cannot be said of the heroes and heroines of Babylonian and Egyptian romance. Homer did for men and women what the writers of the Bible did for God, and the people of God : he made them a reality. Homer's men and women have characters which unfold themselves in action, and, all the while, seem bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. They had suffered, had these Hellenes ; they reached knowledge by the hard path of difficulty, failure and final triumph; the result was poetry.

THE GREEK CITY-STATES

But the Homeric epics are but one form of the Hellenic genius. For the rest we must turn to the Greek towns. Athens will serve as the type of 150 city-states with slightly different characteristics, all of which contributed something to the Greek genius and increased in some measure our debt to Greece. Athens stood in the midst of a level limestone and

sandstone plain surrounded by low hills, including the marble mountains of Pentelicus and Hymettus. In the plain were some limestone crags, including the Acropolis, the Areopagus and the Pnyx. Around the Acropolis, four miles from the sea, and therefore immune from sudden piratical raids, Athens arose. The Hellenes employed their Pelasgian serfs to fortify the Acropolis with walls of the type of Mycenæ, particularly on the west, where a terraced outwork was built. Later the Acropolis became a sacred citadel, like Zion at Jerusalem and the Capitoline Hill at Rome. The home of the tribal chief and the temple of the tribal goddess were set upon it. A centre of civic life arose in the Agora, at the foot of the Areopagus. Near by was the Potter's Field, the rich deposit of red clay from which was fashioned the far-famed black and red ware, a leading object of Athenian trade between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C.

What could be more fitting than the shapes, sizes and decorations on these black and red vases?—small enough for their purpose as household utensils, or large enough to serve as a token of victory in a public game, each shape carefully distinguished from its fellow. Now a big, two-handled *amphora* for storing liquid, a wide-mouthed *crater* for mixing wine and water, a slim-necked *lekythos* for holding ointment, or the shallow *kylix*, used as a drinking-bowl. And the decoration? No unnecessary adjuncts except the handle, but the plain, round moulding as it left the potter's wheel. And the colour? Either the red of the original clay or the black glaze caused by the firing. At first the Athenian potters drew their figures in a dark silhouette upon the red-clay ground,

the internal detail being drawn through the glaze with a sharp-pointed tool. Later the figures were left in the ground colour of the clay, and were thrown into relief by the black glaze which surrounded them. Nothing could be more adequate and more fitting. And because nothing could be at once more adequate and more fitting, nothing could be more beautiful. There are other forms of beauty, but the entirely adequate and the entirely fitting will always be one. In sculpture, in architecture, in drama, indeed in all Hellenic art, the Greek artist at his best never pressed beyond the point where perfect expression was possible. No thought, no emotion, was admitted which was vague. We have seen how the Egyptian, Babylonian and Jewish imagination was obsessed with the thought of death and eternity. In Greek tomb sculpture there is no searching for a life beyond the grave. Instinctively the Greek felt that the unknown was the point where perfect expression was impossible.

The Hellenes were obsessed with the known. In that lay their greatness. They were curious about the myriad things which the mind of man can grasp, rather than with the myriad ideas which can only be guessed at. This attitude brought disabilities in its train. We do not find in Greek thought and art all the good things of which humanity may become possessed. But the absolute trust in clear thinking and clear expression gave humanity so much that a long life is not too much to devote to the task of appraising it. When you feel confident you know what we owe to the Greeks, you may, with a clear conscience, seek out their failings.

In the sixth century, when the poems of Homer had

been sung for centuries, and the art of the potter was reaching perfection, Athens was little more than an overgrown agricultural village. The inhabitants might have lived in the country, but they found they lived better in a town. It was during the transition from a rural community to a city-state that the true Athenian temperament arose. It was then that the genius for public life showed, which was the chief gift of Greece to the world. The absolute trust in clear thinking and expression is a result of full confidence in the human reason. In Athens this confidence was largely the product of public life.

In a Greek city-state the life of the individual was largely merged in that of the community. A marriage, for example, was not a private, but a public festival. The water used for the Athenian bridal bath came from the public fountain of the Nine Spouts. While the bride was being carried to her husband a choral marriage ode was sung, marking the interest of the community in the creation of the new home. In every direction the individual was an integral part of the state : not because the state claimed his labour, as in Egypt, or his fighting powers, as in Assyria ; but because he and his fellow free-men actually were the state. In Athens every citizen was a member of Parliament. Cabinet ministers were chosen by lot. Every one had a chance of election. "There was no government in Athens as distinct from the people." To the Athenian, his city-state was the highest institution a man could aspire to and as worthy of love as his own family. That the rule of a community brought greater, and not less, freedom was the crowning discovery of Athens. The Athenian political system

found a place for all the energies of its citizens—physical, mental and spiritual. And in the utilisation of all the human energies lies true liberty.

Lastly, this system was put to the test, and was not found wanting. Study the campaigns of Marathon and Salamis, and see how tremendous this test was, and how fully the Athenian system answered to it. The might of Darius and Xerxes in 490 and 480 B.C. represented the strength of the Nearer East. It was marshalled for the conquest of the West. The blow was countered, as Demosthenes said a century later, because every Athenian considered he was not born to his father and mother alone, but also to his country.

"Such a man," continued Demosthenes, "would sooner perish than behold her in slavery, and will regard the insults and indignities which must be borne in a commonwealth enslaved as more terrible than death."

The years of triumphant memory which followed Marathon and Salamis answer our final question—as to time. The struggle with Persia had raised the Athenian faculties of body, mind and spirit to the highest power. In the forty years of comparative peace, the faculties tested in war proved equally efficacious in the arts of peace. Athens had gained that divine self-confidence which is equivalent to the faith which moves mountains. This divine self-confidence was given to the Dutch burghers in the years which followed the defeat of Spain. In those years Rembrandt was born. In England, the defeat of Spain gave men a similar belief in their powers and the rightness of their national outlook.

In Athens, the physical force which had conquered

Darius and Xerxes, the clarity of thought and expression which had become second nature through the Athenians' experience in the public assemblies, and the divine self-confidence of the people, issued in the Parthenon, the athletic statues of Olympia, the gold and ivory images of the great gods, the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides, the dramas of Æschylus Sophocles and Euripides, and the science of Thales, Pythagoras, Aristotle, Plato and the great Greek thinkers. In the end, Isocrates, in the Panegyric of 381 B.C., was able to claim that Athens had so distanced the rest of the world in power of thought and speech that her disciples had become the teachers of all men.

"Athens has brought it to pass that the word Greek should be thought no longer a matter of race, but a matter of intelligence, and should be given to the participators in our culture rather than to the sharers of our common origin."

What we owe to the Greeks is that we can all, any one of us, become Greeks.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

- (1) Draw a sketch map indicating the coming of "the Greeks" into the Ægean peninsula, the Ægean islands and Asia Minor.
- (2) What do you know of Knossos?
- (3) Compare an Epic of Homer with such a poem as Milton's *Paradise Lost* from the standpoint of tribal authorship.
- (4) What do you know of the Acropolis at Athens? What were the principal temples upon it?
- (5) What was the effect upon Athenian life of the Battle of Ægospotami?
- (6) Define the term "Hellenistic Age" and compare it with the Hellenic Age.

CHAPTER VI

ROME—REPUBLIC AND EMPIRE

WE have stood upon the shores of chaos and watched the Creative Light penetrating and vitalising matter until the natural world revealed itself and man was fashioned in the very image of God. We have seen humanity in the shaping. At first with powers and perceptions little greater than those of the brute beasts, but, at the last, fitted to shadow forth the nature alike of God and man in the Athena of the Parthenon or the Zeus of Olympia. Longfellow has imaged the fulfilment of the creative purpose in his "Hyperion."

"In the citadel of Time stands Man himself. In childhood, shaped of soft and delicate wood just fallen from heaven; in manhood, a statue of bronze, commemorating struggle and victory; and, lastly, in the maturity of age, perfectly shaped in gold and ivory—a miracle of art."

What more remained to be done? This: To give to all humanity a measure of the soundness of heart and sureness of vision which was Phidias; to endow every man with the longing for beauty in the inward soul which was Socrates. It was required to do for all mankind what the age of Pericles had done for some forty thousand free citizens in Athens. This became possible when Rome secured dominion over

the Greek-speaking world and “Greece took its conquerors captive.”

It is not difficult to understand why Athens could do no more than provide an example and an inspiration for succeeding humanity. The essential in Greek civilisation was the *polis*—the social system in which every citizen could exercise influence upon the judgment and decisions of the whole body politic. Aristotle showed that the proper working of such a constitution required that the aggregate of citizens should be strictly limited. The faith of the Jews, as it found expression through a Moses, a David, or an Isaiah, was also a revelation which could only be vouchsafed to a small people—a few hundreds of thousands at the most. Before Athenian art or Jewish faith could become the possessions of all humanity a world-wide organisation was needed. The life of an Alexander, even if Alexander had ruled for sixty years, would have been all too short. It was necessary that a great people should devote itself to perfecting the methods of imperial organisation. That nation proved to be Rome. Rome did what Alexander sought to do. In the Roman system, Greek thought and the Jewish faith alike found a place. Western civilisation is still founded upon the Roman system as upon a rock.

The earliest dwellers in Italy were probably of North African origin, similar to the “Pelasgians” of Greece. They peopled the peninsula about 3000 years before Christ, when the first invaders from the European forest and steppe country crossed the Alps. Successive swarms of these sturdy Northerns came

into Italy, speaking an Indo-Germanic language, which was already differentiated from the language spoken by the Northerners who were entering Greece about the same time. In other respects there was a striking similarity between the fortunes of the Italian invaders and the Indo-Germans invading Greece and other lands. A comparatively small host of warriors, superior in physique and probably in military equipment, conquered a large aboriginal population. In a few generations the newcomers lost their distinctive characteristics by intermarriage with the indigenous race. The Northern race, which is prolific in cold climates, tends to die out in southern latitudes. The invaders, however, left their language, their knowledge of primitive agriculture and their primitive religion as a legacy to the children born to them by their Pelasgian wives. Like the Greeks, the early Italians worshipped the Great Spirit whose voice could be heard in the thunder and whose power could be seen in the riven oak.

The last of the Northern people to enter Italy seem to have been the Etruscans, a short, thick-set people from the Balkan area, who settled in the valley of the Po. They lived within cyclopean walls of the Mycenæan type. By 500 b.c. the Etruscan power on the sea was equal to that of the Phoenicians or Greeks. On land, for several centuries, Etruria was a richer, larger and more powerful state than Rome itself.

In the extreme south of Italy were several Greek cities, such as Tarentum, which was founded by the Spartans about 700 b.c. in a sheep-breeding district. Cumæ, Sybaris and Rhegium were other Greek settlements.

Here, then, is our problem. Why was it that Rome, rather than the Etruscans or these Greek colonists, finally acquired dominion not only over the Italian peninsula but over the whole Mediterranean world? What was the real nature and cause of the national vitality which enabled a single town, not only to conquer, but also to rule the western world? The possession of a few impregnable island cities enabled the Phoenicians to become the colonisers of antiquity. The idea of utilising the whole human capital of the individual citizen for the benefit of the community led to the foundation and persistence of the Greek city-states. What was the nature of the leverage which enabled the Romans to hold their own and eventually to overcome such formidable opponents as the Etruscans and the Greek cities?

THE CITY OF ROMULUS

The city of Rome lies in the centre of the Campagna about thirteen miles from the sea. The word "Campagna" includes the country between the Sabine and Alban Hills and the two hundred miles of Tyrrhenian coast from the Maremma (near Leghorn and Pisa) to Cape Circeo. In the middle of the eighth century, B.C., the Seven Hills, which were afterwards known as Rome, were tiny fortresses with earthen ramparts and wooden palisades. They stood from 120 to 180 feet above the valley of the Tiber, and, therefore, above the malaria-infected swamps of the lower land. After April 21, 753, the day of the Spring Festival of the Latin herdsmen, one of these Seven Hills, the Palatine, was occupied by the followers of

a certain young Latin free-lance, Romulus by name. It was Romulus who conceived the idea that the one chance of survival for the little community on the Palatine was its assent to his sole control. He gauged the unsuspected strength which would arise from being able to direct the power of the little community as though it had but one mind and one will. He judged that this alone would enable the community to defy its Latin neighbours. The personality of Romulus proved strong enough to secure this submission. Men flocked to join him within the fortress founded on the Palatine Hill. No one was refused, provided he would agree to the vital condition—submission to the authority of the ruler of the State. Plutarch and Livy both insist upon the importance of the right of asylum which Rome offered to all sorts and conditions of people. As soon as the foundation of the city was laid, Romulus opened a place of refuge for fugitives called the Temple of the Asylæan God. Here the Romans received all who came, and would not deliver up the slave to his master, the debtor to his creditor, or the murderer to the magistrate. Thus the city was peopled: with thieves and vagabonds, for the most part, no doubt. But the heterogeneous crowd had the prime essential—physical energy. The early success of Romulus led to further changes. In a short while the settlement on the Quirinal joined that on the Palatine. A small but efficient army was organised. Above all, the spark of a national spirit was kindled. Romans already knew the thrill of the phrase *Civis Romanus sum*. It was not a hardship, but a privilege, to

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surrender individual rights for the supreme possession of citizenship in the town of Romulus.

The potency of the personality of Romulus can be judged from the manner in which his memory was invoked to forward the ideals he had advocated while alive. Like Lycurgus of Sparta, Romulus was deified. In 1899 excavations in the Forum revealed the cenotaph of Romulus with the sacrificial altar associated with the tomb. When discovered it was buried under a mass of sacrificial remains, which must have taken several centuries to accumulate. Here the people of the Seven Hills made offerings to the ghost of Romulus—the city's tutelary genius. In the Forum can be seen the tufa blocks which represent the Volcanal, the primitive altar which Romulus consecrated and adorned with a bronze quadriga and his own statue. Romulus also built a temple to Jupiter on the Palatine Hill, a dedication for aid received in the Sabine Wars.

In the days of Romulus the Capitoline Hill was in the possession of the Sabines. The marshy ground between the two hills—afterwards the site of the Forum—was the market common to the tribes on the Seven Hills. From the Palatine Hill the women came by a steep path to the ever-flowing spring sacred to Juterna, or ascended, bearing back embers for the family hearth from the ever-burning fire in the shrine of Vesta. A brickwork open arch covered the pool, and near the pool, in later years, were low arched cells used by the folk who came to drink the waters of the Fons Juternæ. The Aedes Vestæ was the most sacred of all Roman shrines. It was round in shape and

domed in imitation of the early Italian hut of wattle, with its thatched roof. Here the virgin priestesses guarded the ever-burning fire.

The kings who followed Romulus all did something to forward the prosperity of the newly founded city. Numa Pompilius utilised a period of peace to order the common religion of the federated townships; Tullus Hostilius added the settlement on the Cælian Hill to Rome, and Ancus Martius that on the Aventine. The work of consolidation was completed by Servius Tullius, an Etruscan, who brought the Seven Hills within the circuit of a single wall. Whether of Latin or Etruscan blood, the kings were Roman at heart, and their object was to glorify their capital city at the expense of their neighbours. Their success was due to the civic energy aroused by the system of Romulus.

As the rule of Rome extended, however, it became plain that the influence of the personality of the dead Romulus was insufficient. It was necessary to find some new method of increasing civic energy and pride. Servius Tullius hit upon the method of a class organisation, the root idea of which was to make political privileges correspond with the fulfilment of military and financial obligations. The citizens were divided into 193 centuriæ, which again were grouped in classes. The wealthiest citizens furnished twelve centuriæ of horsemen. The rest were drawn up in order in the phalanx. The centuriæ in front—the first class—included such of the wealthier citizens as could supply themselves with a complete equipment. Behind came the other heavy armed infantry, com-

prising the second and third classes. In the rear were the less wealthy freeholders, who made up the fourth and fifth classes, and were equipped as light-armed troops. The members of the upper classes wielded practically the entire political power. In the Comitia a vote was determined by the collective polling of a centuria, and the method of distributing the votes among the classes was such that the rich could swamp the poorer classes. Class 1 and the knights had 100 votes out of 193, and could, therefore, secure a majority before the poorer classes voted at all. Membership of

class was so essential that the son of a Roman could not hold personal property but as a rule left it to his family estate while his father was alive.

The turning-stone in the Roman political system occurred when the kings were driven out and the power of Romulus was given to two consuls elected annually. These magistrates at first were not only chosen by, but elected from, the First Class. The change from a king to two consuls dates from a time of stress due to the pressure of Etruria upon Rome. The final change was brought about by the quarrel between the Patricians and the Plebs, which led to the Plebs seceding to Mons Sacer, a hill about three miles from Rome. The Patricians sent Menenius Agrippa, who persuaded the revolting Plebeians to return by narrating the fable of the Belly and the Members. The Plebs were allowed to appoint two tribunes to protect them against the consuls. The tribunes had a power of veto over the acts of the magistrates.

It is far more important to have a clear vision of the Roman political system than of the various

historical events by which the system was cemented and justified. The Roman consular system was not without its apparent illogicalities. One was the recalling of the consular commander—whatever his success—at the end of his term of office. The anomaly, however, was part and parcel of the system which secured the Roman Republic a constant supply of competent officials. The English system practically assures an official his position for his working life, and a politician his office so long as his party can retain the goodwill of the majority. This fixity of tenure puts a certain premium upon public service. The Roman method, however, gave many more men the chance of showing what they were worth.

It is not difficult to imagine the human type likely to be produced by such a social system. The average Roman's life lacked that variety of experience which produced the intensely vitalised Athenian temperament. The wit and resourcefulness of the Greek were wanting. But the constant wars and the widely diffused experience in positions of responsibility led to the formation of a general character, which was of great value as a civic asset. The individual Roman was earnest and energetic. He was, moreover, willing to submit his will to that of the state's officials in a manner which the Athenians found possibly only for a few years during imminent danger from Persia. The Roman's submission to the state in state affairs was accompanied by a corresponding individualism in private life. At home, the Roman was as supreme as the consul was in the state. The circumstances of both public and private life contributed to the

intensification of that will-power and certainty in the rightness of his own judgment which characterised the typical citizen of the Roman Republic. The law-bound system, coupled with an intense dogmatism, could not but hamper the Roman imagination and militate strongly against the growth of the philosophical and artistic qualities which were the pride of Athens. Heine once described Latin as “the language of command for generals, of decrees for administrators, an attorney language for usurers, a lapidary language for the stone-hard people of Rome—the appropriate language of materialism which Christianity tormented itself for a thousand years in a vain attempt to spiritualise.” True, the Romans had to pay for their constitutional system. But their satisfaction was that this constitution worked satisfactorily under the guidance of men of average ability such as all nations possess. The power attaching to the greater Roman offices was such that almost any man of shrewd sense and strength of character became a powerful personality by virtue of his office alone. Some human joys and activities were necessarily sacrificed.

What the Roman sacrificed were just the human activities which the Athenian valued. But Athens was a community in which every citizen could have an effective voice in the decision of common affairs. Very early the Romans felt, rather than knew, that their citizens could not be limited to 20,000 or 40,000 men. Even in Republican days there was an unconscious preparation for the domination of the Mediterranean area. When the Roman citizens numbered

more than 400,000 men the change from the republican to the imperial system was inaugurated.

Once the system was established and a body of citizens had been trained to surrender their wills to it, it is not difficult to see how the Roman constitution suited itself to varying circumstances. There was no necessity for the perpetual tinkering which was so noticeable a feature in Athenian constitutional history. The Roman constitution did not change in essentials during hundreds of years. Romulus was really a single consul, acting for life and endowed with full power. The abolition of the kingship merely transferred this power into the hands of two men for a single year. The people's interests were not touched.

Rome grew by admitting allies and subject peoples to her citizenship. The leverage which the supply of capable leaders and a body of energetic and well-disciplined soldier citizens afforded, began to have results in the fifth century B.C. At this time Rome began to extend towards the upper passes of the Apennines. In the process such episodes arose as that of Coriolanus in 488 B.C. The fall of Veii and the union of the Latin states made Rome as powerful as the Etruscan kingdom. The coming of the Gauls into Upper Italy and their crossing of the Po in 390 B.C.—the time of the Allia—stayed Rome's progress for a time. The enemy reached the very walls of Rome. But before the final defeat of the Gallic invaders the Romans had proved themselves masters of Lower Italy. Between 340 and 338 B.C. the Samnites were defeated. Gradually Rome became the central mart of Etruria and Umbria, and was

connected by roads with the inland towns. By 282 B.C. all the states of Italy, except a few Greek cities in the south, were Roman allies. Rome was at the head of a confederation which could direct almost all the fighting power of the peninsula. The League could furnish 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse. Rome began to press upon the Greek cities, particularly Tarentum, and the war with Pyrrhus followed.

The final justification for the system initiated by Romulus was found in the struggle with Carthage. No state was ever nearer to extinction than Rome in the Second Punic War. An enemy under a general of the highest genius was at its gates. Rome was cut off from the natural resources of its subject territories and any aid its allies might afford. Yet Rome managed to hold out until the turn of the tide.

THE TRANSITION TO THE EMPIRE

The story of the centuries immediately following the Punic Wars is a melancholy one. Rome gained the world but lost her soul. The system which served Rome when her citizens numbered less than 400,000 proved quite inadequate when the Republic faced the task of organising the Mediterranean world. At the moment of the direst stress, however, Julius Cæsar arose to bestride the narrow world like a Colossus, while the consuls, tribunes, quæstors and other officials of the earlier régime walked under his huge legs and peered about to find themselves dishonourable graves. The Roman Empire demanded a single personality endowed with full powers to control the fighting

machine. Apart from the emperor himself the system altered little. Rome still required numerous officials willing and able to take responsibility.

The Roman method of rule can be gauged by Englishmen from a brilliant sketch in which Mr. Meyer set out the manner in which Trajan would have ruled the Punjab had he not died in A.D. 117, with the conquest of Parthia but half accomplished. In the first place Trajan's conquests would have been effected by the aid of the Indians themselves. Native levies would have been employed. Only the communities in a state of anarchy would have been absorbed into the Roman Empire. The rest would have become client kingdoms, and the rulers would have stood in much the same relation to Rome as the rajahs of the native states of India stand to the British Government to-day. Some would have paid tribute. Some would have received an imperial garrison. So long as these conditions were observed the rajah was assured of his throne. On the rajah's death the emperor would have been at liberty to appoint a successor, or, more probably, to annex the territory. The province would then have come under the direct jurisdiction of the emperor. His representative—the governor—would have been a capable soldier with administrative experience. In the Punjab of Trajan's age, the first citizens, apart from the army of occupation, would have been retired soldiers. Most of these would have been Italian and Greek settlers, attracted by grants of confiscated land, together with a few natives who had rendered special services. These citizens would have been concen-

trated in towns along the main lines of communication, and would have formed colonies administered after the manner of Roman cities. Outside these colonies, the units of administration would have been the towns with their dependent villages. These would have had a large measure of local freedom, native law and custom being followed as far as possible. The placing of power in the hands of leading local families would have been encouraged, and these would have been attached to Roman rule by the hope of citizenship or other favours. A noteworthy feature of every Roman conquest was the census, which was not merely a numbering and classification of the people, but a *Doomsday Book*, with surveys of each district and statistics of the serfs, slaves, and cattle on each estate. The importance of this enterprise in the eyes of the Roman rulers is shown by the fact that it was entrusted to a special officer equal in rank to the governor, who reported direct to the emperor. This survey settled the land-tax assessment, which was revised every fifteen years. Great liberality was displayed in remitting taxation in districts visited by calamities. The concentration of power in the hands of the Roman governor was greater than in the English system. It gave opportunities to men of energy and ability which are lacking in our system. But this fact made the consequences of mal-administration more serious. When these evils were countered by a system of subdividing provinces and powers under Diocletian and Constantine, a great bureaucracy arose.

During the third century after Christ, the system

founded by Julius Cæsar and Augustus broke down. The supply of capable administrators proved utterly insufficient. Roman citizens no longer took the keen interest in political affairs they had of old. The men who furnished the brains of the Roman state in earlier times abandoned themselves to lives of luxury and idleness. Hordes of Asian peoples were pouring into Europe and driving the populations of the European plains and the Danube and other river valleys before them. The institutions devised by Romulus were to be put to their final test.

YET ANOTHER NOTE UPON METHODS OF STUDY

This is a convenient moment to marshal the main facts of Roman history and consider how they may best be converted into vital knowledge. Among the smaller text-books there is none better than Pelham's *Outlines of Roman History*, but the student should rely largely upon a translation of Plutarch, specially the lives of Cato, Sulla, Marius, Pompey, Cæsar, and Mark Antony. As you read, judge for yourself whether my necessarily brief outline serves as a framework for the circumstances and personalities which made up the thousand years' career of Rome as Republic and Empire. Read also Mr. Warde Fowler's little volume on Rome, in the Home and University Library, and his life of Julius Cæsar, in the Heroes of the Nations Series. Then you will be ready for such a fascinating work as Sir Samuel Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* and other studies of the social life of Rome.

Here is a summary in tabular form of the chief personalities and events in Roman history, letters and art, of which you will desire some knowledge.

ROME—REPUBLIC AND EMPIRE

| | | |
|------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Say 3000 b.c. | Northmen come into Italy | Say 3000 b.c. |
| Greek cities in Italy. | Etruscan Kingdom, 500 b.c. | Etruscan Tomb (British Museum). |
| The Seven Hills. | <i>Romulus Builds Rome</i> , 753 b.c. | The Sabines |
| Rise of Plebs, 451-387. | Kings Driven Out, 509 b.c. | "Horatius," 505 b.c. |
| Pyrrhus, 275 b.c. | Rome, Mistress of Italy. | Tarentum, 282 b.c. |
| Hamilcar, 247-228 | Carthaginian War, 264-241 b.c. | Flaubert's <i>Salanimbô</i> . |
| Crosses Alps, 219. | <i>Hannibal in Italy</i> . | Cannæ, 216 b.c. |
| Lake Trasimene, 217. | Destruction of Carthage, 146 b.c. | Metaurus, 207 b.c. |
| War with Macedonia, 168 b.c. | Civil Wars, 88-48 b.c. | Romans in Greece, 146 b.c. |
| Pompey in Syria, 63 b.c. | <i>Julius Caesar</i> murdered, 44 b.c. | Julius Caesar in Gaul |
| Lucretius and Cicero. | Mark Antony | Bust in British Museum. |
| Cleopatra, 30 b.c. | Augustus Caesar, 30 b.c.—A.D. 14. | Shakespeare's Plays. |
| Virgil's <i>Aeneid</i> . | <i>Birth of Christ</i> . | Horace, 65-8 b.c. |
| Pantheon, A.D. 27. | Tiberius to Nero, A.D. 14-68. | Seneca. |
| Pompeii, A.D. 79. | Destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70. | Paulin Rome, A.D. 62. |
| Vespasian and Titus. | Height of Roman Imperialism. | Colosseum, A.D. 77. |
| Trajan, A.D. 98-117. | Hadrian, A.D. 117-138 | The Portrait Busts |
| The Greek Revival. | Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161-180. | Pausanias and Antinous. |
| His "Thoughts." | Diocletian, 284-305. | Equestrian Statue. |
| Barbarian Invasions. | Constantine, 323-337. | His Baths, 302. |
| Edict of Milan. | Goths and the Huns. | Constantinople built |
| Sack of Rome, 455. | Hypatia died 415. | |

The student will note that, as usual, the chart has a three-column form, with the dominant idea in the centre and the illustrative fact to right and left, the illustrative fact being sometimes a personality, sometimes an art treasure, and sometimes a subordinate historical fact. For instance, while the Etruscan kingdom mentioned in the second line was in being, the Greek cities in Italy, such as Tarentum, were also exercising their influence upon Rome. The reference to Flaubert's *Salammbô*—a vivid picture of Carthage—comes under the heading of illustrative art. As I have suggested before, the student should not be content with my skeleton charts, but should always be seeking to construct his own, either by a new choice of dominant historic events or a fresh selection of illustrative matter.

This chart—abbreviated as it is, for it covers a thousand years of time—may seem formidable to some of my readers. Yet it requires to be supplemented by general reading. Even to the fearless student I would say beware of attempting to read too many and too big books on such a theme as Rome. Rather, satisfy yourself that you understand Rome's real gift to the world—her political system and her political experience. Then pass on to later ages, continually checking your conception of what we owe to Rome by your growing experience of political problems elsewhere, and particularly in the British Empire. Roman history is essentially one in which knowledge of the past should enrich the present. Rome taught the western world the necessity for law and order and the methods of national organisation. Her sense of social order and her experience of national organ-

isation alone enabled her to give to succeeding generations the inspiration of the Jewish faith and some, at any rate, of the treasures of Greek art and letters.

ART IN THE ROMAN WORLD

This preservation of Greek art was not the least part of the debt the world owes to Rome, and it suggests a reversion to the thought with which this chapter was prefaced—that the life of an Athenian in the golden days of Greece had the balance of a great work of art. Hegel, in the *Aesthetics*, put the matter thus—

“They are great and free and have grown up on a soil of their own individuality, creating themselves out of themselves and moulding themselves to what they were and willed to be. . . . They are ideal artists of themselves, cast each in one flawless mould—works of art which stand before us as an immortal presentment of the gods.”

Hegel’s description is far from describing the typical hard-headed, hard-working, matter-of-fact Roman of the Republic and the Empire ! This could be deduced from the social and political circumstances already set out. It becomes abundantly plain when we consider the art, and particularly the sculpture, of the Roman Empire.

After the death of Alexander the Great, in 323 B.C., the House of Seleucus in Syria, and such towns as Rhodes and Alexandria, kept the Greek art tradition in being during the so-called Hellenistic age. The Greek sculptors, painters, dramatists, potters and poets worked on, it is true, without the inspiration which earlier craftsmen had received from the body

of thought and feeling astir in the city-states. Marbles and bronzes were produced of rich beauty, and singing of the joys, sorrows and imaginings of men with exquisite delicacy and pathos. Recall the idylls of Theocritus, who wrote in Syracuse and Alexandria about 270 B.C. But the real Hellas was no more. There was Light still, but Liberty had passed away.

Two hundred years after Alexander it became plain that the task of preserving the Greek art tradition must eventually devolve upon Rome. In 146 B.C. Greece was conquered by Mummius and became a Roman province. In 133 B.C. Attalus III. willed Pergamus to Rome, and in 64 B.C. Pompey put an end to the Seleucid rule in Syria. After the sea-fight at Actium and the death of Cleopatra, the Ptolemaic rule in Egypt ended, and the last Hellenistic centre acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. At the very time when Rome might have been expected to fashion an art tradition of her own, "Greece took its conqueror captive."

For a century and more the Romans had been familiar with the masterpieces of Greek sculpture. When Marcellus captured Syracuse, in 212 B.C., he brought back art treasures to Rome and exhibited them in the Temple of Honos and Virtus. The sack of the Greek cities of Capua and Tarentum added to the spoils of sculpture taken to Rome. In 197 B.C. Flaminius brought the art treasures of Philip V. of Macedon to Rome. Nobilior brought 285 bronzes and 230 marbles from Ætolia and placed them in the Temple of Hercules. The plunder of Corinth in 145 B.C. and of Athens in 86 B.C. added to the Roman store. In imperial times the statues in the streets

of Rome were so numerous that it was said that the city had two populations—one of flesh and blood, the other of marble and bronze. The men and women of flesh and blood were Roman in origin and inspiration, those of marble and bronze were Greek.

Nevertheless Rome was not to be without its distinctive sculpture. About 50 A.D. a school of portrait bust-makers arose, with a method sharply differentiated from the pseudo-Greek style, popular fifty years earlier. The new ideal was what we call to-day “a speaking likeness.”

The Greek sculptors, appealing to a nation of artists, had preferred to render what was organic in the individual rather than the detail which was accidental. The Roman had to please a matter-of-fact patron who wanted a bust for the hall of his ancestors. The new Roman sculptors made this speaking likeness the basis of their art of portraiture. Whereas the Greek had sought to express the permanent, rather than the passing, in the human face, the Roman desired an impression of intense, living reality.

Portraiture is a difficult art. Alfred Gilbert once put the matter thus : “ Portraiture means pandering to the vanities of often ill-shaped and ill-ordered individuals, who think that because their portraits are made they are patrons of art. This or that detail must be exactly right in their eyes, and such portraiture belongs to the realism of the meanest nature. When a Greek made a portrait, it was the highest expression of what his sitter should be, not what he was.”

The Roman sculptors did not pander to the vanity of their sitters. They were quite content to set down

the features of “ill-shaped and ill-ordered individuals,” and the best of them did their work as a Roman would, with business-like conciseness and directness.

Passing down the gallery containing the collection of Roman busts in the British Museum, the very men who made the Empire seem before us. Tiberius—“dogged, dutiful and just,” with his immense capacity for work. Nero—bulb-necked and big-cheeked; a monster, but a splendid monster. Vespasian—earnest, capable, frugal, adequate in everything, brilliant in nothing. Titus—the captor of Jerusalem. Trajan—public-spirited and energetic, under whom the Roman Empire reached its greatest extent; yet equally admirable as domestic administrator, and perhaps, greatest of all because he was essentially Roman in all his deeds and thoughts. Hadrian—repellent despite his brilliant gifts as a soldier, administrator and patron of the arts. Antoninus Pius—simple, modest and domesticated. Marcus Aurelius—high-souled, gracious and unpractical. Commodus—his degenerate son. Caracalla—another degenerate son of a capable, energetic and even worthy father.

There are few more useful historical exercises than the collection of a series of these imperial portraits and the addition of a short characterisation of each. Try it for yourself, using postcards and interleaving a few lines of historical summary with each. You will learn much about a highly distinctive Roman art and still more about Roman history itself. For example, the violent end which came to one Roman Emperor after another. Here are the emperors between Tiberius, who died A.D. 37, and Nerva A.D. 96 : Caius

Caligula, murdered; Claudius, poisoned; Nero, a suicide; Galba, killed by the Prætorian Guard; Otho, stabbed himself; Vitellius, deposed and killed by Vespasian. After Vespasian and Titus came Domitian, the last of the Cæsars, who was murdered. When the successful and capable rule of Trajan and Hadrian came to an end, matters were even worse. Commodus, with his prettily trimmed beard, his drooping, deceitful eyelids and his soft, sensual mouth, was strangled in his bedroom in 193 A.D. Pertinax was murdered in the same year by the Prætorian Guard. Lucius Severus died after a few months' reign, and Caracalla and Geta, his sons, succeeded to the imperial throne. Caracalla murdered Geta, and was himself killed by the Prætorian Guard. Macrinus, who followed, was beheaded during a mutiny; Heliogabalus was murdered, as were Alexander Severus and Caius Julius Verus. Gordianus and his son succeeded to the throne; the son was killed and the father strangled himself in despair. In A.D. 238 three emperors followed and were all assassinated. Assassinated, died in battle, killed by his soldiers, captured in battle and flayed alive, assassinated, died of plague, committed suicide and assassinated in Persia—such were the fates of the eight emperors who followed. It was not until Diocletian commenced his reign that anything like political security was obtained.

Can it be wondered that there were Romans, men as well as women, who looked for a means of escape from this welter of violence and vice? The thought recalls Rome's third great service to the world. It not only furnished a new example of public service

and preserved Greek art and letters for posterity : Rome enabled Christianity to grow from the faith of a few Galilean fishermen into a world religion. How the imperial political system served this great end must be the theme of our next chapter.

In A.D. 312 Rome still held the frontiers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. The Germanic tribes remained within their northern forests and marshes. Two hundred years later Teutonic kingdoms were established in Italy, Africa, Spain, France, England, and incidentally Christianity was supreme. The Roman, the German, the Pagan and the Christian elements in the Roman world were blended with a new community. The men who had been masters became servants, the servants became masters. While the Roman Empire became Teutonic, the Teutonic tribes became Roman. In the end Hobbes's picture of the Papacy—the ghost of the Empire sitting crowned on its own grave—was realised.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

ROME

- (1) What do you know of the Etruscans ?
- (2) Are you sure Romulus ever existed ?
- (3) Describe one of Hannibal's battles.
- (4) Characterise Julius Cæsar. Was he a Roman Emperor ?
- (5) Compare Roman Imperialism with "the Empire" of Athens. Which was the real Imperialism ?
- (6) Correlate the Barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire with the climate of the mid-Asian steppes between A.D. 100 and A.D. 500.

CHAPTER VII

CHRISTIANITY, THE WORLD RELIGION

THE spread of Christianity, first in the Roman Empire and then throughout Europe, is one of the key problems of history. Renan, in the opening sentences of the *Life of Jesus*, went even farther and described it as the greatest event in the history of humanity. He said—

“The principal event in the history of the world is the revolution by which the noblest peoples of humanity forsook the ancient religions which are classed together under the vague name of Paganism, for a religion founded on the Divine Unity, the Trinity, and the Incarnation of the Son of God. Nearly a thousand years were required to achieve this conversion. The new religion itself took at least three hundred years in its formation. But the origin of the revolution is an historical event which happened in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. At that time there lived a man of supreme personality, who by his bold originality, and by the love which he was able to inspire, became the object, and settled the direction, of the future faith of mankind.”

The foundation of Christianity, by which I mean the teaching of Jesus of Galilee and its acceptance by those who came under the spell of His presence, can be understood readily enough. But the real historic interest in every religion lies in the question, Why did it spread? We should be able to give some answer to this question in connection with the

established religion of our own land. An answer will not be a matter of book-lore, but rather of the sympathetic interpretation of a few outstanding circumstances. Throughout, keep in mind what the Roman world was. Strive also to picture what Christianity seemed, not only to the early converts, but to the rulers and populace of Rome. Then ask yourself, Why did Christianity persist and spread?

It is necessary to be sympathetic while tracing the growth of every human institution, but especially the growth of a religion where prejudice may readily cloud the judgment. Whether you believe in the Christian message, or whether you do not, matters nought from the standpoint of historical study. It is still true that Christianity has been a great factor in the fashioning of the world in which we live and move and have our being. Its importance for the student of history and of life is, therefore, undeniable.

And, first, as to books. Do not be troubled with elaborate text-books. Recall what you know already—the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. Refresh your memory regarding the main historical facts by reading a short encyclopædia article. Then think for a while. Use the text-books months later to correct or establish your conclusions. To begin with, I would suggest the purchase of four books—all are works of rare charm.

Buy St. Augustine's *Confessions*. There is a pleasant pocket edition, translated by Dr. Pusey, in the Red Letter Library.

Buy also Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, which is to be found in the Temple Classics.

Thirdly, the *Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond*, in

the King's Classics (Chatto & Windus), unless you prefer Carlyle's *Past and Present*.

Lastly, *The Little Flowers* of St. Francis of Assisi, in the Temple Classics.

Make these four books your familiar friends. Long before you know them fully you will have been tempted to add other books of Christendom to your store. But these four will suffice to begin with. Even a youthful student should possess two of them—Bede's *History* and *The Little Flowers* of St. Francis.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY

In approaching the root problem of Christianity, the first thing to be made plain is that the idea of a universal religion is essentially an Eastern rather than a Western conception. No Athenian sought to convert neighbouring barbarians to the worship of Zeus, Poseidon, or Athena. A Roman of the Republic troubled little whether an Etruscan worshipped at the hearth of Vesta or not. Even the Jews were not a missionary people. It was only when Alexander the Great by his Eastern conquests prepared the way for Rome's Empire, that a universal religion became possible. The conquests of Alexander provided a common language and civilisation by which Eastern religious cults could spread westward. The Roman emperors to Trajan by their conquests rendered still easier the quick exchange and sifting of new ideas. The seas were open. The great state highways made movement easy. Moreover, it was plain that the old polytheism of the Republic could not maintain its hold after the Romans were fully

embarked upon a policy of world empire and had taken to themselves the philosophy and art of Greece. The only question was *which* religion would be chosen out of a score which might claim support. Would it be the worship of Osiris which the Greek genius had elaborated in Ptolemaic Egypt? Would it be Mithraism, the product of the union of the sun-worship of Persia and the astrology of Babylonia?

In the first 150 years after Christ, it would have been a bold prophet who would have answered "The Gospel of Jesus of Galilee."

Yet another possibility was that Rome, which had taken over the art of Greece, might take over the Greek religion as well. By this I do not mean a belief in Zeus, Hera and Athena. So far as the polytheism of Greece was of value, it had already been absorbed into Roman mythology. Zeus lived again as Jove, Hera as Juno and Athena as Minerva. But long before Rome embarked upon an imperial career, the Greeks themselves had realised the insufficiency of their mythology as religion. When you have an hour to spare turn to J. A. Froude's essay on Lucian, with its translation of "The Twilight of the Gods" dialogue. You will see what many Greeks, as well as Romans, felt about pagan mythology at the time Christianity began to spread.

When Athens and the other Greek city-states fell to Alexander's armies, the Greek lost the inspiration of communal service which served as a religion, when the faith in the gods of Olympus waned. He was without any spiritual aid. He could not cry like the Jew—

"Zion is taken from us; nought is left save the Holy One and His Law."

In his need the Greek turned to philosophy. It was Zeno and the Stoics who fashioned the system of moral teaching which Greece passed on to Imperial Rome. Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, was born in 342 B.C., and taught in the famous arcade in Athens known as the Stoa Poecile, or "many-coloured portico," so called because of the pictures by Polygnotus with which it was decorated. Zeno presided over the Stoic school for fifty-eight years, teaching that God is the active and formative power immanent in matter, and so "the world's soul." Since it is man's share of this God-like reason which makes thought possible, reason is the only test of truth. So Zeno and the Stoics found at once an authority for belief and a code of conduct. "The Law which all things must obey may be called Destiny, but it also may be called Providence. To this Destiny or Providence we must submit our wills. If we do not obey willingly, we shall obey unwillingly."

Some day you will want a more adequate account of the Stoics. Remember Gilbert Murray's Conway memorial lecture, published by George Allen and Unwin. The sixty pages of wit and wisdom will leave you with the impression that Stoicism was essentially a religion of duty. It appealed to men who did not seek to evade the discipline of suffering and refused consolation.

"Only weak eyes weep at the sight of other people's suffering," said the Stoic.

Can it be wondered that Stoicism was a patrician

cult rather than a popular religion? It did not give humanity any revelation of the Unseen. It made no appeal to the sense of the mysterious which touches so many. Above all, it did not satisfy the human longing for personal communion with an all-loving God. Christianity, on the contrary, aroused the interest and touched the emotions of the simple; it was an aid and consolation to the poor. Lastly, whereas Stoicism was a male cult, Christianity made a deep and abiding appeal to women.

One other philosophical system of the Roman Empire must be mentioned, the mystical school of Plotinus, which was the ripe fruit of the Eastern cults I have mentioned already. Born in Egypt in A.D. 205, Plotinus studied in India and Persia, reaching Rome in A.D. 244. Unlike the Stoics, Plotinus refused to accept reason as the arbiter upon all things. Truth, for Plotinus, was a passive condition of the spirit. "He who would behold the One must retire into himself as into an inner shrine," he said. The mood of Plotinus which brought clear seeing was that described by Wordsworth in *Tintern Abbey*—

"That serene and blessed mood
In which . . . we are laid asleep
In body and become a living soul;
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things."

WHAT ST. PAUL DID

The task of Christianity was to restate the spiritual insight of Plotinus, the truths of the Greco-Roman moral philosophers, and the mysteries of the Egyptian

and Syrian cults in terms of personality. Experience showed that a living mediator between God and man was essential if a universal religion was to arise. From the standpoint of philosophy two conceptions of Deity are possible. God may be conceived as separated by vast tracts of space from the material world in which humanity has its being. God controls the universe by manifestations of His Power. Opposed to this, is the conception of God as implicit in the self and in the universe. The Jews were familiar with the conception of an extra-mundane God working from time to time through chosen members of the human race. They even reached the conception of a Messiah, the human incarnation of this far-off Godhead. But the unity of the human and the divine through this Messiah was only accepted by the Western world when the subtle philosophy of the Greek was added to the vision of the Jew and found expression in the Gospel of Jesus of Galilee.

It was Paul, a romanised Greek of Tarsus in Cilicia, who saw in Christianity the possibility of a world religion. By freeing Christianity from Judaism, he made it a belief fitted for the acceptance of the world. St. Paul showed how the teaching of Jesus bore upon the day by day duties of life. Thus, "Know ye not that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost, who dwelleth in you ?"

St. Paul also showed how Christianity could be utilised for the loftiest human purposes, whether in communal or in individual life. In the early Christian communities there was no desire for a fixed organisation. The Twelve Apostles regarded their office as a "service." Paul saw the need for organic unity and

instituted elders as the guardians of the souls of the flock, as Jesus Himself had been "the shepherd and bishop of souls."

Note what astonishing social and political results followed within a thousand years from this simple act of organisation.

But the greatest debt Christianity owed to Paul of Tarsus was due to his recognition that the Rock upon which Christendom must arise was the living personality of Jesus Christ. Only the actual experience of Christ's life could give His followers a conviction of their Master's supernormal nature.

The Fathers of the Church realised very early that St. Paul was right in his conviction that the personality of the Founder of Christianity was all-important. This was the unique possession of the new Church. No body of phrases, divorced from the personality which gave them being, however exactly they may represent a new truth, have ever persuaded great bodies of men and women to action. This has always been recognised by practical reformers, and is happily illustrated by a well-known story of Talleyrand. During the French Revolution one of Talleyrand's colleagues sought to establish the worship of the "Exalted Geometer who presides over the fabric of the Universe." He came to Talleyrand for advice as to the best way of bringing about the acceptance of this thoroughly national and original religion. Talleyrand's answer was : "Get yourself crucified and rise again the third day."

Once Christianity was established in Asia Minor by means of the preaching and letters of St. Paul, it spread through the Greco-Roman world, securing

converts in every rank and race. For a while the Roman imperial authorities were in doubt as to whether the new community should be recognised. In a letter which the younger Pliny, then Proprætor in Bithynia and Pontus, wrote to the Emperor Trajan, he said--

"They meet in secret to sing a hymn to Christ as to a god, and they bind themselves by a sacramental oath, not to some crime, but that they will commit no theft, no robbery, no adultery, nor break their word, nor deny a deposit when called upon."

Trajan answered that the profession of Christianity was a crime, but advised connivance at the existence of the new religion.

By A.D. 180 Christianity was making headway even in imperial circles in Rome. The Roman Bishop Victor had influence with Commodus, who reigned from A.D. 180 to 192. Severus Alexander placed a picture of Jesus among his household gods. Over a room in his palace he inscribed : "Do unto others what you would they should do to you."

Later came the persecutions of Decius and Valerian. They need not surprise us. From the standpoint of Roman authority the Christian community was becoming a troublesome thing. In pagan times the conflict between one religion and another was not "to the death." Christianity, however, taught that Jesus of Galilee was the only True Way. There was no possibility of compromise. Such an attitude was so anti-social that it necessarily resulted in persecution and martyrdom.

Persecution ended in A.D. 313 when the Emperor Constantine issued the Edict of Milan, which conceded

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religious freedom to the Roman world. After A.D. 330 Christianity was a favoured estate. Sunday was officially recognised and the bishops were allowed to act as judges over members of their community in civil matters. The times were ripe for the application of St. Augustine's theory that the civil state was transitory, while the Church was ever-during.

THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION

The establishment of the Church as a state religion made it necessary that its teaching should be fitted for every contingency which might arise. A complete system of Christian doctrine was required, complete in the sense that Greek philosophy was complete. At the same time there were men and women who claimed a higher knowledge of the mysteries of the Christian religion than that revealed to the ordinary man.

Above all it was necessary to find a method for preserving contact with the personality of the Founder of the Church. At first there was the authority of those who had seen Christ in the flesh; then their written words. Years later, in a time of doubt, Tertullian wrote "Make inquiry among the apostolic churches, among those especially where the chairs from which the Apostles taught still stand in their places, where the originals of their letters are still read aloud." Polycarp, a pupil of John, bridged the period to Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, born near Smyrna between A.D. 120 and 140. Irenæus it was who laid

down the truth upon which Tertullian insisted—that the heads of the apostolic communities were qualified by virtue of their succession in office to declare the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, adding that “the greatest, oldest and best-known community” was Rome.

Rome’s geographical position served it well at this juncture. The necessity for decisions upon difficult points of doctrine led to meetings of the bishops. Synods were held as early as A.D. 200. At first the meetings were held wherever was convenient. Then Rome, partly by virtue of its possession of the bones of Peter and Paul, but still more because it was the chief town of the Roman world, secured a special position. After the Council of Nicæa, the precedence of the Bishop of Rome was generally recognised throughout Christendom. He was spoken of as the Pope (*papa*). It was plain that the unity of the Church would only be maintained if the supreme power—the last decision upon matters of real importance, whether doctrinal or administrative—was placed in the hands of a single man. The early Church might have handed over the directing power to any outstanding believer, cleric or lay. It might have chosen a leader annually as the Romans chose their consuls. As a fact, the Catholic Church determined to solve the problem of leadership by creating an immensely powerful office—the Papacy—which controlled numerous other important offices constituting the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

The Catholic Church, Anglican as well as Roman, has never lost touch with the first Apostles. These

had placed trusted men in charge of the communities founded by them, and the latter, in turn, appointed worthy successors. The unbroken succession gave some guarantee of information upon most points of doctrine. Thus Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who was born about A.D. 69, was "taught by the Apostles," being a pupil of John at Ephesus. Polycarp "lived in familiar intercourse with many who had seen Christ." He was not martyred until A.D. 153. It will be plain that this historical explanation of the doctrine of Apostolic Succession differs widely from the meaning attached to the words by many High Churchmen to-day. They state that it is only through the transmission of grace from the Apostles by the ordination of a bishop that true sacramental grace can be secured. But in the early centuries after Christ, Apostolic Succession was no more than a method of guarding the sacred tradition. In all the great sees there was a succession of bishops going back to the first Apostles. These bishops had been openly appointed to pass on the Christian faith as it had been given to them. For this reason there was a guarantee that what the bishops taught was true.

AUGUSTINE'S "CITY OF GOD"

We have seen that for a time there was antagonism between the political empire and the Christian religion. Then, under Constantine, there was an alliance. Finally, the religion proved to possess a quality of universality which even the Roman Empire lacked. If any one man fitted Christianity to become

a world religion it was Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, not to be confused with Augustine, the evangeliser of Kent. Augustine was the last and greatest of the Fathers of the early Church. Harnack has said that the Fathers made Augustine "the proud river that he is, a river in whose waters the banks are mirrored, on whose bosom ships sail, a river which passes through and fertilises a whole region of the world."

Strive to make Augustine of Hippo one of the historical personalities whom you can see at their appointed work. I have insisted more than once upon the value of pictures in assisting visualisation. There are a number covering St. Augustine's life in Italian art, including a famous series by Gozzoli in the church of S. Agostino at San Gimignano. I would suggest your purchasing two copies of the little booklet of Gozzoli's paintings issued by Gowans and Gray. The booklets cost sixpence each in pre-war times. Use them for extra-illustrating your copy of St. Augustine's *Confessions*. You will find the pictures will break up the text and make reading and reference easy. Above all, the manual effort itself will make the book, not a bought thing, but your own. Gozzoli's delightfully naive pictures are just the relief which St. Augustine's biography requires. The writer was a Father of the Church, but he was also a man. The frescoes at San Gimignano picture the Saint's life from the time when Augustine was put to school, including a quaint episode of the small scholar being hoisted on the back of a comrade for castigation, an illustration of the passage in the First Book which begins, "And yet, if idle in learning, I was beaten."

Gozzoli goes on to picture St. Augustine at the school of rhetoric in Carthage, St. Monica's prayer for her erring son narrated in the Third Book, Augustine's journey to Italy, his journey to Milan and his reception by St. Ambrose, and his baptism after the touching episode of the conversion by means of the child's chant of "Tolle, lege," narrated in the Eighth Book of the *Confessions*. The San Gimignano frescoes also include scenes from Augustine's life as a monk and bishop, and, lastly, picture the saint's funeral. Nor does this series exhaust the material for extra-illustrating a life of St. Augustine. Greater than any picture of Gozzoli is the splendid portrait of St. Augustine at Florence. There are also some scenes in the Sforza Book of Hours.

Augustine had seen the decay of the Roman Empire, and conceived the idea of a world-wide theocratic state, with an organisation even more perfect than that which had served Rome, as republic and empire, for 1200 years. The plan, and all the spacious beauty with which Augustine invested it, will be found in the Saint's treatise, *De Civitate Dei*, commenced in A.D. 413 and finished in 426. Augustine died four years later during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals under Genseric. But he had given Europe an idea and an inspiration which did not lose their potency for a thousand years. The great Popes, headed by Gregory the Great, set themselves to realise Augustine's "City of God" when they established a new Roman *imperium* on the ruins of the Empire. As Christianity was accepted in Northern Europe, the Catholic *imperium* extended the Roman tradition of law and

administrative order. The baptism of Clovis (A.D. 496) brought the Franks under the Roman sway. Later, when struggling with the Byzantines and the Arian Lombards, the Popes found very useful allies in the Catholic kings of the Franks. Pepin laid the foundations of the Popes' temporal principality in Italy. Charles the Great, Pepin's son, confirmed and added to the gift and became the acknowledged protector of the Papacy. His reward came on Christmas Day in the year A.D. 800, when Pope Leo III. in St. Peter's at Rome, placed the imperial diadem on the head of Charles and hailed him Augustus. The Pope had assumed the right of election to the imperial office which had hitherto been inherent in the people, the senate, and the army of Rome. Augustine could not have looked for a fuller vindication of his aspiration towards the complete temporal authority of Mother Church.

But Augustine did much more for the Catholic Church than foreshadowing the perpetuation of the Roman *imperium*. He conceived the doctrine of the Trinity as it was adopted by Christendom. He gave the experiences of the mystics and the teaching of Plato and Plotinus their place in Christian philosophy. M. Louis Bertrand has well said of Augustine :

"His tireless voice dominated the whole of the West. The Middle Ages still heard it. For centuries his sermons and treatises were copied and recopied. They were repeated in Cathedrals and commented on in abstracts of theology. . . . To indicate the three great stages of the onward march of the truth, one might say : Jesus Christ, St. Paul, St. Augustine. Nearest to our weakness is the last. He is truly our spiritual Father."

FROM ROME TO BYZANTIUM

When Constantine the Great, by the Decree of Milan in A.D. 313, conceded religious liberty to his Empire, the days of classic Rome were numbered. The long-threatened invasion of the Germanic tribes from the North was at hand. Even in the time of Marcus Aurelius, every Roman capable of bearing arms had been enrolled in the forces defending the Empire. Italy was saved for the time being. But such outposts of Roman power as the Danubian provinces were only held by calling upon the barbarian allies to assist in the defence of the Empire.

Constantine anticipated the inevitable when he determined upon the bold policy of transferring the capital of the Roman Empire to the shores of the Bosphorus. Indeed, his action was the logical outcome of the Emperor Diocletian's policy of transforming the imperial office into an Oriental despotism and shifting the centre of political gravity to the East. The foundation stone of Constantinople (Byzantium) was laid in A.D. 326. For a time Constantine and his successors maintained their hold upon the western portions of the Empire. But in A.D. 425 the Empire was definitely divided by Theodosius II., who chose to rule in Constantinople. It was plain that the immediate future was with the East. Rome became "a provincial capital, with a past."

Constantinople was an ideal site for a metropolis. Unlike Rome, it was on the sea-coast. A constant supply of food was assured both from Egypt and the country north of the Black Sea, the land from which Ancient Greece had drawn its wheat supplies, as we

do ourselves to this day. The site was of great natural strength from a military standpoint. The Goths, the Huns, the Vandals, the Slavs, the Persians, the Arabs, the Magyars and the Bulgars in turn threatened Constantinople. It was sacked by the Crusaders during the First Crusade, but did not finally fall until A.D. 1453, when it was captured by the Turks after an existence of more than a thousand years. If you would gain a vivid impression of the prosperity and power of Constantinople, read *Count Robert of Paris*. Many historical novels are a very real aid to the historical imagination, but none more than those of Sir Walter Scott.

At first, life in Constantinople resembled that in Rome itself. Senators were brought from Italy and induced to settle in the new capital by bribes of estates on the shores of the Bosphorus. Local landowners were compelled to put up dwelling-houses in Constantinople, the penalty being that their wills would not be recognised by the imperial courts if they refused. The mass of the population—artisans and labourers—were secured and retained by periodical largesses of oil, wine and corn. Works of art were brought from the West to decorate the buildings and public places of the new capital.

The wealth of Constantinople grew apace. All the greater trade routes between Europe and Asia naturally converged there. Jewels, spices and other luxuries were imported in goodly quantities. Silk goods were manufactured in the state factories. Constantinople soon became the recognised clearing house for trade between Western Europe and the Nearer East.

A sketch of Byzantine history and a characterisation of Byzantine art would furnish material for another chapter. I must, therefore, refer my reader to Mr. Frederic Harrison's Rede lecture on Byzantium and such a volume as Findlay's history in the Everyman Library.

The general reader will do well to confine his study to gaining a clear idea of the part Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire had in the development of European culture during the Middle Ages. Enough has been written in this chapter upon the rise of Christianity to suggest that much time and study will be needed before one can hope to connect the personalities and events of early and mediæval Christianity with the history of Rome, France, Italy, Byzantium, England and Ireland. Yet there can be no real knowledge without a sense of this constant interconnection between the Christian religion and secular affairs. Indeed, the interconnection colours all succeeding history and is not devoid of real importance in the politics of to-day. It is this modernity which gives the theme its abiding interest and importance.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY

- (1) What do you mean by "Christianity"?
- (2) "Stoicism was a male cult." Define and justify this statement.
- (3) Why did Constantine found Constantinople?

CHAPTER VIII

THE ISLANDS OF THE NORTH

HALF of this book has been completed, and nothing has been set down regarding our own island story. Yet it is certain that "English" history, for the majority of my readers, must represent the outstanding events in all human happenings. Let me give my justification and repair the omission forthwith. English history is implicit in all I have written. We, too, had our ice-age and our palæolithic and neolithic men.

The Romans came to our shores and brought with them their sense of obedience and order. Their emperors were our emperors. Later they gave to Englishmen their first acquaintance with Greek culture and Christianity. As you accumulate knowledge of humanity as a whole, you must store a similar series of visual impressions and concrete facts regarding events in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. For the map of the Mediterranean area, which has thus far served as a background, substitute the map of our own islands.

Let us recall in greater detail the outstanding facts in our early island story. The geologists and anthropologists tell that hundreds of thousands of years ago, when England and Ireland were united, and both were

joined to the European continent, our country was not without inhabitants. The earliest known Englishman is said by some scientists to have lived half a million years ago.

At this time part of the North Sea was cut off from the Atlantic by a land barrier which reached to Norway. A quarter of a million years later came the Ice Age. The cold was intense, and the British seas abounded in icebergs. An ice cap, from 1500 to 3000 feet thick, hid our islands as Greenland is hidden to-day. When the conditions became less severe the mammoth, and later the elk and reindeer, roamed in the forests and fens of Southern England. They passed at will from the Continent to the islands. The bones of these extinct creatures have been brought up by trawling nets from the Dogger Bank in the North Sea.

In these times a great glacial stream ran through the Thames Valley, and joined a vast river which ran through the Straits of Dover and through the marshy plains which are now under the waters of the North Sea. This river flowed into the Rhine, west of the Dogger Bank. Then came a time when the connections between England and Ireland and Britain and the Continent were broken. With the sinking of the coast-lands of Northern Europe, the Irish Sea, the English Channel and the North Sea were formed. Palæolithic men lived in Britain when our island was still joined to the Continent; and the mammoth, the cave bear and the woolly rhinoceros roamed in the forests of Britain.

The weapons of the roving hunters and fishermen

who lived in the Thames Valley in these early times have been found near Gravesend. The deposits of silt in which they occur lie a hundred feet above the present bed of the river.

When the dry cold gave place to a more temperate and moist climate, the mammoth and the cave bear passed away and the reindeer went north. A neolithic people drove out the palæolithic stock. The civilisation of the newcomers may be judged from the discoveries in the well-known Kent's Cavern in South Devon. The neolithic people buried their dead in a chamber of flat stones, with a pile of earth above, like a halved pear in shape. These are the "long barrows" of the anthropologist. This civilisation lasted with little change for 10,000 years, say from 12000 B.C. to 2000 B.C. The neolithic folk had knowledge of primitive agriculture and kept domestic animals. They were the builders of Stonehenge.

The neolithic inhabitants of Britain were dispossessed about 1800 B.C. by a big, fair-haired, round-headed people with bronze swords and javelins, who buried their dead in "round barrows." Last of the prehistoric invaders were the Celts; they commenced to come from Gaul between 750 and 500 B.C., and continued to come until Julius Caesar stopped the movement of the German tribes over the Rhine. Three waves of these Celts can still be distinguished. The first were the ancestors of the Gaels of the Scotch Highlands and the extreme west of Ireland; the second wave left us the Welsh and the people of Cornwall. Lastly, came the Belgæ, who lived between the Seine and Scheldt, and sent colonists to England.

They landed at Southampton early in the first century B.C. The Belgæ made Winchester the centre of their settlements.

It is striking, is it not, how closely the history of the peopling of our own islands resembles that of the Greek and Italian peninsulas?

Before the coming of Julius Cæsar almost the only recorded references to the British Isles are to be found in the writings of Pytheas, the Captain Cook of the Greek world. Pytheas lived in the time of Alexander (330 B.C.) and was a native of Marseilles. The Greek traders of Marseilles fitted out an expedition to search for tin and amber, which sailed northwards under the command of Pytheas. The fleet went to Cadiz, and thence along the Spanish coast to the mouth of the Loire. From France Pytheas headed for Cornwall, but did not land. He missed a great reward. He failed to discover the tin of Cornwall. Pytheas, however, landed in Kent, and remained there for some months before sailing to Norway, "where the sun shines through the whole summer night." On his return journey Pytheas landed in Kent again. He tells of the great stores of wheat in England, of the covered threshing-floors, and of a drink made of corn and honey.

Posidonius of Rhodes, the tutor of Cicero, visited Cornwall almost 300 years after Pytheas, and tells how the natives brought the tin of Cornwall in wagons to the Isle of Thanet. Thence it was taken by Gallic merchants on shipboard to Portus Itius, placed upon pack-horses, for carriage to the Rhone, and then, by boat, to Marseilles.

BRITAIN IN ROMAN TIMES

Such, in rough outline, was the history of Britain before the month of August, 55 B.C., when Julius Cæsar set out to invade England. A hundred ships had been collected for the cross-channel journey. About four o'clock in the afternoon Cæsar arrived off the Kentish coast. The Britons were awaiting him at Dover. Cæsar sailed on for eight miles and came to an open shore north of Deal. Turn to Cæsar's own account for the details of what happened. If you have not a translation of Cæsar's *De Bello Gallico*, spend sixpence or ninepence upon a little volume edited by Dr. W. H. D. Rouse and published by Blackie & Son, entitled *Britain and Germany in Roman Times*. It contains the chapters of Cæsar describing the invasion of 55 B.C. as well as sections from the *Germania* and *Agricola* of Tacitus. The *Agricola* gives a vivid sketch of Roman Britain in the first century after Christ, while the *Germania* is one of the earliest accounts of our Saxon ancestors, while still in their native land.

I do not propose to outline the facts of the Roman occupation of Great Britain. Apart from what can be best learnt in the British Museum, or other collections of Roman remains, nothing is more illuminating than a map of Roman Britain and a plan of Roman London. Trace out the principal roads and military works, such as the walls of Hadrian and Severus.

The plan of Roman London you must construct for yourself. The great encircling wall was built at

the end of the Roman occupation, and followed the line of the wall of the Middle Ages. Set this down first with Aldgate, Bishopsgate and Newgate, leading to the three great roads east, north and north-west. Within the great wall place the Forum, on the east side of the Wall Brook, with its own wall extending from Cannon Street to Mincing Lane, and from the river to Cornhill and Leadenhall Street. London Stone probably stood in the middle. A temple of Diana stood on the top of Ludgate Hill, where St. Paul's is to-day. Billingsgate (Belinus Gate), one or two City churches which claim to have been established in Roman times, the sites of the chief discoveries of Roman antiquities, are other things to be entered in your plan. You will find such a chart far more useful than extensive note-taking, and a real aid to visualisation. Indeed, its virtue is that it compels visualisation.

For the rest you must picture Britain as part of a much greater entity—the Roman Empire. Seek to know what the Roman Empire was, and then judge what great gain became ours when circumstances forced us to submit for more than 300 years to her iron rule. To this day Ireland is suffering from the mischance that the Romans did not cross the Irish Sea. Ireland has not learnt that first lesson of nationhood—to obey. Prussia was never under the Roman rule and is suffering still. She never learnt to rule.

It is true that we owe much to the Roman occupation of Britain. Nevertheless it was good for England that, in the end, the Roman legions left, and

our islanders were forced to fend for themselves. Mr. G. K. Chesterton has described this experience of our forefathers as "the end of the world."

"For the end of the world was long ago,
And all who dwell to-day
Are children of some second birth,
Like a strange people left on earth
After a judgment day.

"For the end of the world was long ago,
When the ends of the world waxed free;
When Rome was sunk in a waste of slaves
And the sun drowned in the sea.

"When the ends of the earth came marching in
To torch and cresset gleam,
And the roads of the world that lead to Rome
Were filled with faces that moved like foam,
Like faces in a dream."

THE COMING OF THE NORTHMEN

With the incursions of the Northern barbarians, Italy, having most to lose, suffered more than any part of the Roman world. The great buildings of the Empire were destroyed or converted into fortresses. The destruction of the Roman aqueducts reduced the Campagna to marshland. Cardinal Newman, in his *University Sketches*, draws an unforgettable picture of the general desolation. Chapter IX., which deals with the Lombard invasion, and Chapter X., which is entitled "The Isles of the North," should be conned and conned again, until every line helps to fill out the mental pictures you are seeking to form: first, of Rome as it was; secondly, of Rome as it became;

and, lastly, of the haven in the northern isles, where Greek and Roman ideas and ideals were to be preserved until they could be put to a new use and made to serve a fresh purpose.

Enough has been said in an earlier chapter of the potency and splendour of Rome in her prime. Here is Newman's picture of Italy in the so-called Dark Ages—

“ Man ceased from the earth and his works with him. The arts of life, architecture, engineering, agriculture, were alike brought to nought. The waters were let out over the face of the country; arable and pasture lands were drowned; landmarks disappeared. Pools and lakes intercepted the thoroughfares; whole districts became pestilential marshes; the strong stream, or the abiding morass, sapped and obliterated the very site of cities. Forests overspread the land in rivalry of the waters and became the habitation of wild animals, of wolves and even bears. The dwindled race of man lived in scattered huts of mud, where best they might avoid marauders and pestilence and inundation, or clung together for mutual defence in cities, where wretched cottages, or the ruins of marble palaces, overbalanced the security of numbers by the frequency of conflagration.”

Newman goes on to say that a letter which the Great Council of Rome in Pope Agathon's time (A.D. 678) addressed to the Byzantine Emperor emphasises the desolation of Italy. The Byzantine control of Italy was lost after Justinian's death. In A.D. 568 the Lombards had conquered northern Italy. The Byzantine Emperors still held Sicily and the south, while Rome itself tended to look to the Pope for guidance. In Pope Agathon's time the Byzantine emperor had a nominal control over Rome, and he wrote asking for

episcopal legates of correct life and scientific knowledge of the Scriptures. The reply of the Council was that if by science was meant knowledge of revealed truth, the demand could be supplied. But nothing more, "since in these parts the fury of our various heathen foes is ever breaking out, whether in conflicts or in inroads and rapine. Hence our life is simply one of anxiety of soul and labour of body : anxiety, because we are in the midst of the heathen ; labour, because the maintenance which used to come to us as ecclesiastics is at an end ; so that faith is our only substance, to live in its possession our highest glory, to die for it our eternal gain."

While this tragic fate was overtaking Italy, the British Isles were the only abode of peace in the Western world. True, there were early incursions of Angles and Saxons into England. But afterwards there was stability for almost 300 years. Ireland escaped the barbarian invasions altogether until the raids of the Danes commenced. Newman, in the sketch, *The Islands of the North*, says : "High up in the north, above the continent of Europe, lay two sister islands, ample in size, happy in soil and climate, and beautiful in the face of the country. . . . The old world was to pass away and its wealth and wisdom with it; but these two islands were to be the storehouse of the past and the birthplace of the future."

Doubtless, because she had never been under the authority of Rome, Ireland found herself free to develop a Christian literature in her own tongue. In this vernacular poetry there is touching evidence of the civilisation which existed while the rest of

Europe was striving to absorb the barbarian invaders and recover the law and order lost when the Western Empire fell. Listen to this passage from a song by an Irish hermit, taken from Kuno Meyer's prose translation :—

“ I wish, O Son of the living God, O ancient, eternal King,
For a hidden little hut in the wilderness, that it may be
my dwelling.

An all-grey lithe little lark to be by its side,
A clear pool to wash away sins through the grace of the
Holy Spirit.

Quite near, a beautiful wood around it on every side,
To nurse many-voiced birds, hiding it with its shelter.

A southern aspect for warmth, a little brook across the
green,
A choice land with many gracious gifts such as be good
for every plant.

A few men of sense—we will tell their number—
Humble and obedient, to pray to the King :—
Four times three, three times four, fit for every need,
Thrice six in the church, both north and south.
Six pairs besides myself,
Praying for ever the King who makes the sun shine.”

This early harvest of religious and heroic poetry in Ireland is one of the treasures of our race, and is far too little known, in spite of the charming translations of Lady Gregory, Miss Hull and Kuno Meyer. Poems in all moods will be found; the epic of Cuchulain is an old-world tale, but some have a curious modernity. The grim tale of how Fothad Canann kept tryst in pale death with the wife of Alill of Munster might have been written by Rossetti :—

"Hush, woman, do not speak to me ! My thoughts are
not with thee.

My thoughts are still in the encounter at Feic.
My bloody corpse lies by the side of the Slope of two
Brinks."

THE IRISH HERMITS

Read the poem itself and also the "Hag of Beare," which recalls at once Villon and Baudelaire and the grim little bronze in the Luxembourg which Rodin modelled from Villon's "La Vieille Heaulmière." But you will probably return with renewed zest to the poems which recall the hermit life in Ireland at any time between A.D. 500 and 800. There is another, the "Song of Marvan."

"I have a shieling in the wood,
None knows it save my God ; [beyond,
An ash-tree on the hitherside, a hazel-bush
A huge old tree encompasses it.

Two heath-clad door-posts for support,
And a lintel of honeysuckle ;
The forest around its narrowness sheds
Its mast upon fat swine.

A tree of apples—great is its bounty !
Like a hostel, vast ! [nuts,
A pretty bush, thick as a fist, of tiny hazel
A green mass of branches."

There are root differences between the outlook of the typical Englishman and Irishman. The basis of English life and action is the conception of a strong central authority—the Roman ideal. In proportion as the community was threatened from without,

Englishmen have always realised the necessity for a stern discipline within. Ireland never learnt the necessity for this iron discipline. As Mr. Esme Wingfield-Stratford has written, Ireland feared no foreign menace; hence the bond that bound Irishmen to Irishmen was spiritual. There was no national army. The High King was only one of many independent chieftains. But what Ireland lacked in discipline and central authority, it gained in the common consciousness and free love implanted in the hearts of her children. The state counted for little; the individual for all in all. Can it be wondered, as Mr. Wingfield-Stratford says, that on the one hand arose a literature characterised by a robust, workaday energy, with its feet planted firmly in the earth; on the other a dreamy spirituality that shrinks from the practical business of life and produces forms as beautiful and transient as those of summer clouds?

It has been said, I think by Miss Underhill, that the worth of a religion is to be judged by its results—by the zest it adds to the life temporal, by the steadfastness of soul which it gives, by the infinite significance which the world gains by being related to an unseen divine order, by the assurance of eternal safety it affords, and the growth of an abounding love for brother man to which it gives rise. Judged by this standard, the religion of the Irish hermits was of high worth. But there is another test of worth—that is, the actual social-service rendered by a church to the community. This is a question which history is well-fitted to answer. Here is Newman's judgment. Apart from its service as a storehouse of Greek and

Roman thought, so far as these touched Christianity, and apart from the intrinsic beauty of its own art and poetry, the early Irish Church was a great centre of missionary effort and all that missionary effort meant in those hard times. In *The Isles of the North* Cardinal Newman describes the social services of Ireland and England in the early Middle Ages.

"The seventh and eighth centuries are the glory of the Anglo-Saxon Church, as the sixth and seventh of the Irish. As the Irish missionaries travelled down through England, France and Switzerland to Lower Italy, and attempted Germany at the peril of their lives, converting the barbarian, restoring the lapsed, encouraging the desolate, collecting the scattered, and founding churches, schools and monasteries, as they went along; so, amid the deep pagan woods of Germany and round about, the English Benedictine plied his axe and drove his plough, planted his rude dwelling and raised his rustic altar upon the ruins of idolatry, and then settling down as a colonist upon the soil, began to sing his chants and to copy his old volume and thus to lay the slow but sure foundations of the new civilisation."

Before the Irish missionaries passed to the Continent they came into Northern England. Saint Columba became first Abbot of Iona from A.D. 563 to 597. From Iona missionaries were sent east and south. When the Anglo-Saxons, in the reign of King Penda, turned from Christianity to worship Odin and Thor once more, the North of England was saved by Columban missionaries headed by St. Aidan. The Saint fixed his bishop's stool in the island peninsula of Lindisfarne, one of the most revered centres of Catholic learning in Christendom in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Columban influence

in Northumbria and Mercia also gave England Cædmon, the poet of the dawn of English letters, who lived about A.D. 680 in the monastery at Whitby. It might have happened that the Columban missionaries recovered England for Christendom. As a fact the monks from Iona, inspired by St. Columba, met the missionaries from Canterbury—who owed allegiance to the memory of St. Augustine. In the conflict between the Celtic Christianity from Ireland and the Roman Christianity introduced by Augustine, Rome triumphed. The decision was made at the Synod of Whitby in A.D. 664.

These facts bring us, after many happenings in many lands and times, to the second of the four books which I suggested as the foundation of a knowledge of Christendom. You will remember, firstly, the *Confessions of St. Augustine*, and then Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. The preface of Bede's book by itself gives confidence in what is to follow. Note Bede's careful summary of the sources of his information, his insistence upon the need of faithful copying of records, and, lastly, his humble entreaty for the kindly judgment of his readers. Bede's history should be read and re-read. I do not recommend you to take long notes. This is essentially a book to mark. Mark the good stories and the episodes which help to characterise the outstanding figures in England's early history, most of whom live by virtue of Bede's pages alone. In Bede's *History* you will find the story of the first British martyr, St. Alban. He tells of the sufferings of the Britons under the Germanic invasions and the

recoming of Christianity through the agency of Pope Gregory and St. Augustine. Read the letters of the Pope, which Bede transcribes in full. Then commence a series of pen portraits, which are among the choicest treasures of English history—King Edwin and Paulinus; King Oswald and St. Aidan; Ethelburga, consecrated to God; King Penda, the fierce King of Mercia; St. Chad of Lichfield; the Abbess Hilda and St. Wilfrid; Cædmon the poet, and Adamnan, the writer of the life of St. Columba.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

ISLANDS OF THE NORTH

- (1) What do you know of England in the Stone Age? Describe a typical Cave "find."
- (2) Draw a sketch map of the Thames, the Seine and the Rhine at the time when Britain was joined to the Continent.
- (3) What do you know of Roman life in Manchester, Doncaster and Chester?
- (4) Correlate the Anglo-Saxon invasion of England with the movements of the peoples of the Eur-Asian steppes.

CHAPTER IX

THE ORGANISATION OF CHRISTENDOM

SUCH was the service the Islands of the North rendered to humanity. For some centuries Ireland, in particular, possessed a civilisation comparable in quality, though not in extent, with that of Byzantium itself. But I would have you note that the preceding chapter is no digression from our main theme. The poems of the Irish monks and the pages of Bede are more than an introduction to Irish and English history. They will help you to people the whole of Christendom in the early Middle Ages. As men were stirring in England, so they strove all over Europe. Striving, moreover, for the very end foreshadowed by our study of the rise of Christendom—Augustine's world-wide theocratic state.

We have seen how the great Popes, headed by Gregory the Great, set themselves to realise Augustine's "City of God," and how they established a new Roman *imperium* upon the ruins of the Empire. As Christianity was accepted by the invading nations throughout Northern Europe, the Catholic *imperium* was extended. When the baptism of Clovis brought the Frankish kingdom under the influence of the Papacy, the Pope gained an ally of the utmost value. Pipin and Charles the Great were acknowledged champions of the Papacy. The alliance culminated on Christmas Day in A.D. 800, when Pope Leo III.

crowned Charles in St. Peter's at Rome and hailed him Augustus.

It is the events which arose from this alliance of the Pope and the Frankish king which now present themselves for our understanding. What was a vision to Augustine of Hippo in the fifth century was an actuality after A.D. 800. We require a general idea of the organisation by which the Catholic Church secured its ends and maintained its hardly won authority. Here are the outstanding events in their due order, together with the personalities, cleric and lay, who brought them about, and also the results in art and letters by which we may recall the events and personalities of the Middle Ages to-day.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| Constantine a Christian, A.D. 312. | Division of Roman Empire, A.D. 425 | St. Jerome's <i>Vulgata</i> , A.D. 405. |
| Augustine in Kent, A.D. 596. | Gregory the Great, A.D. 590-604. | St. Benedict's <i>Rule</i> , A.D. 515. |
| Cardinal Newman. | Irish Monasteries. | The Irish Poems. |
| Cistercians, A.D. 1000. | The Monastic System. | Benedictine Monasteries. |
| The Saracens, <i>Song of Roland</i> . | Charles the Great, A.D. 800. | King Alfred in Rome, A.D. 853. |
| Feudalism, A.D. 1000. | Otho I., Holy Roman Emperor, A.D. 962. | Florence and Fiesole. |
| Henry IV of Germany. | Pope Gregory VII. | Penance at Canossa, A.D. 1077. |
| Pope Urban II. | First Crusade, 1095. | Bernard of Clairvaux. |
| Norman Style, 12th century. | Great Gothic Churches. | Gothic Style, 13th century. |

RISE OF THE PREACHING ORDERS (SAY A.D. 1200).

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, 1379. | St. Dominic, 1170-1221. | Blackfriars (London), 1276. |
| Santa Croce, Florence, 1294. | St. Francis of Assisi, 1182-1226. | Christ's Hospital (London), 1306. |
| Dante, 1266-1321. | Giotto, the Painter, 1266-1337. | Arena Chapel, Padua. |
| San Marco, Florence, 1439. | Fra Angelico, 1387-1455. | Upper Church, Assisi. |
| | | Savonarola burnt, 1498 (<i>Read Romola</i>). |

Study the chart for a while before we pass on. You will find that some of the facts and personalities are not so unfamiliar as you might think at a hasty glance. The three-columnar division will suggest the significance of others. Thus St. Jerome's translation of the Bible into Latin, the Vulgate, is obviously connected with the establishment of Christianity as the imperial religion, while the monastic "Rule" of St. Benedict connects itself with the missionary efforts of such a man as the English Augustine. English monasticism was organised upon the Benedictine regula. The "Rule" might be more happily connected with the general heading "The Monastic System," had not the two outer columns been occupied by the Benedictine and Cistercian Orders. The student who constructs his own "chart" will not be hampered by such a consideration as this, as he can have as much space as he pleases. He may prefer to give "The Cistercians" a line to themselves, thus allowing "St. Benedict's Rule" to fall into its right place, while the vacant space next to Gregory the Great might be occupied by King Ethelbert and his Queen, Bertha. The connection between Charles the Great and the *Song of Roland* is obvious to all who have read the *Song of Roland*. Read it and see. The relation between Gothic architecture and the Crusades will also become plain with study. Santa Maria Novella is the great Dominican Church at Florence, as the Church of the Blackfriars was in mediæval London. The Arena Chapel at Padua and San Marco at Florence are places where Giotto and Fra Angelico painted. Purchase the two Gowans and

Gray booklets dealing with these painters and you will see that many of their paintings serve strictly historical purposes.

But there is a difference between the vague meaning attached to many of the foregoing terms at the first hasty glance, and the precise definition necessary if knowledge is to become ordered and to grow. Take, for example, the word "Monasticism."

Of all the institutions whereby the Catholic Church established its authority in Christendom, the first to be understood is Monasticism.

In its origin Monasticism had little purpose apart from the satisfaction of the craving for Christian virtue and purity in godly men and women. The word Monasticism (derived from the Greek *μόνος*, "alone") by its very origin implies religious retirement accompanied by contemplation and other devotional and penitential exercises. In a simple community life, such as we found pictured in the Irish poems, holy-minded monks found the changeless order and freedom from outer temptations which satisfied alike on moral and æsthetic grounds. As William James once said, "the law, which impels the artist to achieve harmony in his composition by dropping out whatever jars or suggests a discord, rules also in the spiritual life."

At first Christianity was valued for the zest and the infinite significance it added to the individual believer's life on earth. But as time went on, the ideal of social service developed. The Fathers of the Church were continually faced with the problem of what could be done with the social energy which

the faith in Christ had aroused. How could this energy be organised and directed? The Christian ideal had united a more or less heterogeneous mass of men and women. Organisation was necessary, lest the energy arising from the new unity should be dissipated.

Under the stress of this need, Monasticism gradually changed. What it finally became can best be judged from the cry of St. Philip of Neri—

“Give me a dozen really detached men and I will convert the world.”

The monastic system gave the Catholic Church a constant supply of these “detached men,” loosened from every tie binding them to society and ready to work, body, mind and spirit, for the Church. The power to compel the surrender of the individual will to the behests of the Church was the source of the influence of the Catholic hierarchy in the social and political affairs of Christendom, which we have now to consider.

FRANCO-GERMANY IN A.D. 800

Let me briefly review the social and political conditions in Western Europe when the incursions of the Germanic tribes ceased and what had been the old Roman Empire was once more in a position to build up a civilisation of its own. By this time the Byzantine emperors had lost the greater part of their power in Italy. In A.D. 718 Leo the Isaurian came to the throne in Constantinople and beat back the Saracens. But he was not able to defend himself

against the Lombards in Italy. They took Ravenna and threatened Rome. The Pope called upon the Franks for aid. Pipin won back Ravenna and saved Rome. In A.D. 774 Pipin's son, Charles the Great, overthrew the Lombard kingdom. In 800 he was crowned by Pope Leo as Charles Augustus.

A large agricultural population was now dwelling in the country between the Pyrenees and the Rhine, between the Atlantic, the Elbe and the Danube. The country was peopled by romanised Celts, conquered provincials and the German invaders who came over the Rhine in bands, each consisting of a few thousand warriors. After conversion to Christianity, these invaders settled down. Until the time of Charles the Great the people of Franco-Germany had one great concern in common—the necessity for keeping out the non-Christian barbarians.

Under the stress of this necessity, the agricultural population handed over the task of defence to war bands numbering, perhaps, fifteen per cent. of the whole people. At times, raw levies armed with clubs and scythes were also called to serve. But the main defence was a mounted nobility in mail and iron skull-caps—the war band. For their services, the members of the war band, with the king at their head, received the greater part of the surplus products of the whole country.

This, in brief, was what is known in history as the feudal system. It arose out of the necessity for defence against the unbelievers on the borders of Christendom, though it was developed by the efforts of the favoured military caste to preserve its

privileges. It is only necessary to add that, as centuries passed, the powers of the kings and princes at the head of the feudal system tended to come into conflict with the two other estates of prime importance in Western Europe. Towards the end of the tenth century the rulers of France, Germany and Italy were faced by a body of rich and powerful land-owners, and a Church led by vigorous ecclesiastics with large secular interests. Before these large secular interests arose it had been possible for the Catholic Church to work with the secular powers. We can see in Bede's *History* how early English missionaries, such as Augustine and Aidan, utilised the influence of the kings. By A.D. 1000, however, a tendency had arisen whereby leading Churchmen, and particularly the Pope, sought, not only to take their due part in secular affairs, but to control them. A century earlier the Pope had little or no power. He was elected by a body of corrupt Roman nobles. Assisted by Otto I. and Otto III., the Holy Roman Emperors, the Papacy recovered its freedom. The alliance between the spiritual and the temporal powers, however, did not last. The more far-seeing Churchmen realised that a rigorous centralisation would enable the Pope to become the real ruler of Christendom. First the right of electing the Pope was secured for an assembly of the heads of the Church—the Cardinals. Then Pope Gregory VII., a personality to be ever-remembered, withdrew the priests and monks from the jurisdiction of secular judges. Finally, Gregory VII. carried the principle established by St. Benedict to its logical conclusion and forced the seculars (the parish priests) as well

as the regulars (the monks) to pledge themselves to celibacy. During the pontificate of Innocent III., which marked the climax of the movement, practically every state in Western Europe acknowledged the ultimate authority of the Papacy in secular, as well as in religious, affairs. I say ultimate authority. I do not mean that the Pope, in fact, ruled throughout Christendom, but that the secular leaders feared to take any action which would bring them into conflict with the Papacy.

THE MONASTIC SYSTEM

As the secular authority devised and developed the feudal system for defence against the heathen on the borders of Christendom, so the Catholic Church developed Monasticism to defend its corporate interests. Monasticism commenced with the Egyptian hermits of the third and fourth centuries, headed by the Coptic saints, Anthony and Macarius. It was introduced into Italy by Athanasius during his exile in A.D. 340. Monasticism was systematised by St. Benedict (A.D. 480 to 543). Centuries later, Odo of Cluny said of Benedict, "Like another Moses, God chose him to lay down the statute of the monastic rule." As Abbot of Vicovara, Benedict was familiar with the oriental rule. He made a root change when he substituted intellectual and manual *labour* for the meditative seclusion which had been the basis of the Eastern rule. Benedict's second principle was that the example and assistance of men with like ideals was the best method of securing that constant preoccupation with work which he regarded as all

important. "The cloister of the monastery and our steadfast abiding in the Congregation, will be to us the workshop in which we shall heedfully work out these things." The influence of a brother was important even in such a trivial duty as rising at the proper time.

"And when they rise to the work of God, let them gently rouse each other so as to leave the slothful no excuse."

In the lives of the English saints set out in Bede's *History*, there is ample matter for a judgment upon the effects of this early form of Monasticism as to Christendom. But in course of the centuries difficulties arose. In France, for example, during the ninth and tenth centuries, Monasticism tended to become too closely identified with secular interests. Kings were known to grant the *beneficium* of a monastery to a princess as a dowry. Laymen were created abbots. Reform came about through the movement to restore the Rule of St. Benedict, commenced by the Abbot Berno at Cluny in Burgundy. His successor, Odo (A.D. 927-941), introduced still more rigorous reforms. Succeeding Cluniac abbots established priories obeying the reformed Benedictine rule, until 2000 establishments acknowledged their overlordship in the twelfth century. Throughout, the Cluniac abbots were bent upon increasing the authority of the Papacy. When Gregory VII., a Cluniac, reached the throne of St. Peter the whole Catholic Church was imbued with the Cluniac spirit. Something has already been said of the reforms in the Catholic organisation due to the Cluniac sym-

pathies of Pope Gregory VII. But more was necessary. It was essential that the Church and the Papacy should be able to cope with extraordinary, as well as ordinary, events. This need led to the creation of the last and most powerful entity in the Catholic system—the Great Orders. Each Order had a definite individuality—usually that of the founder who brought it into being. Each was made up of men deeply imbued with the belief that the purpose of the Pope and the Church was all-important. The struggle for Papal Supremacy in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought many of these Orders into being. To this day, when the Roman Catholic Church is in real difficulty, she seeks to found a new order, endowed with the qualities necessary to combat the evil. Here are a few of the greater Orders with the dates of their foundation and the names of their founders—

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| Benedictines . . . | A.D. 529 | . St. Benedict. |
| Cluniacs . . . | A.D. 910 | . St. Odo. |
| Carthusians . . . | A.D. 1084 | . St. Bruno. |
| Cistercians . . . | A.D. 1098 | . St. Bernard. |
| Hospitallers . . . | A.D. 1104 | . St. Juan de Dios. |
| Templars . . . | A.D. 1118 | . |
| Premonstratensians | A.D. 1120 | . St. Norbert. |
| Trappists . . . | A.D. 1140 | . Abbe de Rancé (1662) |
| Franciscans . . . | A.D. 1208 | . St. Francis. |
| Carmelites . . . | A.D. 1209 | . St. Albert. |
| Dominicans . . . | A.D. 1215 | . St. Dominic |
| Jesuits . . . | A.D. 1535 | . Ignatius Loyola. |

It would be deeply interesting to set out the circumstances of the foundation and the work of the greater Orders. It must suffice to point out how

splendidly natural the process of founding a new Order is. In its simplicity is to be found the explanation of its potency. Among the multitude of zealous adherents which her democratic foundation ensures, the Catholic Church has always found one earnest and devoted man or woman with the personality and character required to found an Order. The man has not to be sought. The circumstances of the age reveal him. He attracts to himself hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, of kindred spirits. They have been waiting for some commanding personality to enable them to focus their energies upon the point where the Church is threatened.

For the day to day life in a monastery I have already commended you to the *Chronicle* of Jocelin de Brakelond, a monk of St. Edmundsbury. For the circumstances of the foundation of a great Order and the influence of the personality of its founder, study the lives of St. Francis of Assisi, and, particularly, the anthology of tales known as the *Fioretti, or Little Flowers of St. Francis*. You will remember that I suggested that you should make the *Confessions* of St. Augustine your own by illustrating the book with the pictures of Benozzo Gozzoli. You can illustrate the lives of St. Francis even more readily. Perhaps the best volume for this purpose is that in the Everyman Library, which contains the *Mirror of Perfection* and the *Life of St. Francis*, by St. Bonaventura, as well as *The Little Flowers*. The best of the Franciscan pictures are by Giotto and can be found in the little volume of reproductions issued by Gowans and Gray, which contains the famous series in Santa Croce at Florence, as well as those in St. Francis's own church

at Assisi. There is another famous series by Gozzoli at Montefalco, which you will have secured when you illustrated your copy of the *Confessions*, while there are pictures and statues of Franciscan themes in all the great galleries. With the story of St. Francis's "Sermon to the Birds" interleave the picture by Giotto in the Upper Church at Assisi. You remember how the passage begins :—

" My little sisters, much are ye beholden to God your Creator, and alway and in every place ye ought to praise Him that He hath given you a double and a triple vesture. He hath given you freedom to go into every place, and also did preserve the seed of you in the ark of Noe, in order that your kind might not perish from the earth."

For the chapter "How Saint Francis converted the Soldan of Babylon" there is the wonderful design in Santa Croce at Florence, with the Soldan enthroned in the centre and St. Francis and his companions on the one side facing the magicians of the Prophet on the other. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata is pictured by Gozzoli as well as Giotto, as are the earlier episodes of Francis renouncing his earthly estate after his quarrel with his father. Long before you have exhausted the available pictures, you will have converted your copy of "Saint Francis" into a possession of pride: Pride because you have made a thing of abiding worth your very own, not by the expenditure of money, but by lavishing a loving interest and effort upon a thing that is worthy of both.

Such were the methods by which the great Popes secured a power in Western Europe such as no authority had held since the fall of the Roman

Empire. Thus the Popes harnessed the energies of the various peoples and directed them so that all the great achievements of the later Middle Ages were religious in nature and in origin. The Gothic Cathedrals of France and England, the scholastic philosophy, the pictures of such an artist as Giotto, and, above all, the Crusades, bear witness to the all-embracing influence of the Catholic Church.

MEN OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The Catholic Church was the chief organising agency in Western Europe throughout the Middle Ages, but it was not the only, or even the main, source of energy.

What has been said of the mediæval Churchmen requires to be supplemented by some knowledge of the townsfolk who, century by century after A.D. 1000, had been increasing in numbers, wealth and political influence throughout Western Europe.

In England the towns owed much to the coming of the Danes. Indeed, for this reason alone, the results of the Viking invasions were in many respects far more important and enduring than those which followed from the coming of the Anglo-Saxons. The English were satisfied with rural life and had no liking for towns. The Danes, however, were traders as well as skilled metal-workers and shipbuilders. The Danish settlements were among the earliest to develop trade, and in the Danish towns, with their artisan citizens, the first germs of municipal self-government came to life. The conception of law, as we know it to-day, was also of Danish and Scan-

dinavian origin, replacing the earlier conception that a crime was merely a misdeed committed against an individual, and, therefore, to be settled by a monetary compensation. To the Dane, crime was an offence against the community.

The growth of town life and civic institutions in Germany, in Flanders, in France and in Northern Italy is a subject of great interest and importance not only for its results upon polities, but for its effects upon art. For an Englishman it can be most happily studied in connection with the growth of London. A convenient and charming book on the subject is the small volume by Mr. Wheatley in the "Mediæval Towns" series, which gives all the facts a general reader will require. For a lively picture of mediæval society you cannot do better than turn to the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*. Cross from the city over London Bridge in company with Geoffrey Chaucer on that April evening in the year 1387, when the poet rode into the yard of the Tabard Inn, hard by the Bell, Southwark.

On the 29th of December, 1170, Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been murdered in his own church by a party of knights who believed they were fulfilling the wishes of King Henry II. The dead primate was canonised two years later, and his tomb and place of martyrdom at Canterbury became the foremost shrine in England. Chaucer tells of a pilgrimage which he made to Canterbury about two hundred years after the martyrdom, in company with a party of his fellow countrymen, such as could have been seen travelling towards Canterbury in the spring of any year during three and a half centuries.

In the time of Chaucer the mediæval world was about to pass into the new life of the Renaissance, a life which was to be characterised by a vastly greater differentiation between man and man than had been the case. In the Middle Ages the type had been dominant; now, the individual was to be freed from the class. In Chaucer the transition to the Renaissance outlook can be plainly seen. In reading the "Prologue," note how Chaucer superimposes characteristics belonging to the individual upon those proper to the type. We watch the picturing of an individual, while all the time the poet is building up an impression of a much bigger entity. That the type was to be dominant is seen by the fact that Chaucer does not call the pilgrims by their names but by their callings. Here are the principal figures, arranged in classes.

The Churchmen.

- The Monk.
- The Friar.
- The Nun's Priest.
- The Pardoner.
- The Parson.

Tradesfolk and Servants.

- Miller.
- Ploughman.
- The Reeve (bailiff).
- Manciple (caterer).
- Shipman.
- Yeoman.
- The Cook.
- Weaver.
- Haberdasher.
- Dyer.
- Tapestry Maker.

Men of Substance.

- The Knight.
- The Squire (his son).
- The Franklin (an M.P.).
- The Merchant.
- Mine Host of the Tabard.
- The Sompnour (Sheriff).
- The Goldsmith.

The Professions.

- Man of Law.
- Doctor of Physic.
- Clerk from Oxford.
- Chaucer (civil servant).

Women.

- The Lady Prioress.
- The Nun.
- Wife of Bath.

You would know more of these twenty-four or twenty-five men and women. Since we are only seeking information and not the magic of Chaucer's verse, I will modernise the poet freely, though I would add in passing, that it is not difficult to become familiar enough with the mediæval phraseology, and you may well resent this aid to a quick understanding. Chaucer should be read aloud. Most of the difficulties vanish when the verse is heard.

Foremost among the pilgrims on the journey to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury is the Knight. He had been in Alexandria when it was captured from the infidels. He had fought in Germany and Russia. With the worthy knight is his son, a young squire.

“A lover and a lusty bachelor
With lockēs curled as they were laid in press,
Of twenty year he was of age I guess.”

“Embroidered was he, as it were a mead
All full of freshē flowers, white and red;
Singing he was, or fluting, all the day;
He was as fresh as is the month of May.
Short was his gown with sleevevē long and wide,
Well could he sit on horse and fair could ride,
He couldē songēs make and well endite,
Joust, and eek dance and well portray and write.
So hot he loved, that by ‘nightertale’ (*night time*)
He slept no more than doth the nightingale.
Courteous he was, lowly and serviceable,
And carved before his father at the table.”

The most attractive figure among the church folk is the Lady Prioress. A lady of considerable refinement, this Prioress, and of the daintiest manners.

Her fiercest oath was but “ By St. Loy.” She spoke French after the style of Stratford atte Bowe—that is, in the Anglo-French style taught by the nuns of St. Leonard’s, Bow, where she had been brought up. Her daintiness was evidenced by her manners at table.

“ She let no morsel from her lippès fall,
Nor wet her fingers in her saucē deep ;
Well could she carry a morsel, and well keep
That no drop fell down upon her breast.”

With the Prioress was the Nun who told the story of St. Cecilia, and the Priest who told of Chanticleer and Pertelote. The Monk was a lover of chase and the fruits of the chase.

“ His head was bald, that shone as any glass,
And eek his face as he had been anoint,
He was a lord full fat and in good point ;
His eyes were bright, and rolling in his head,
And glowed as a furnace of a leed (*cauldron*),
His boots were supple, his horse in great estate ;
Now certainly he was a fair prelāte.
He was not pale as a tormented ghost,
A fat swan loved he best of any roast.”

Another lover of the comforts of the body was the Friar, a very different man to the saintly founder of his Order, who preached the “ Sermon to the Birds.” The Friar knew as much of the taverns in a town as any beggar. The vow of poverty troubled him not at all.

“ Somewhat he lispēd, for his wantoness
To make his English sweet upon his tongue,
And in his harping, when that he had sung,
His eyēs twinkled in his head aright
As do the starrēs in a frosty night.”

The Parson was a man of very different sort, “ rich in holy thought and work.” Note that he was brother to the Ploughman.

“ Wide was his parish, and houses far asunder,
 But he ceased not, neither for rain nor thunder,
 In sickness or in mischief to visit
 The furthest in his parish, great or little.
 This noble example to his shcep he gave
 That first he wrought, and afterwards he taught . . .
 And though he holy were and virtuous,
 He was to sinful man most piteous . . .
 And Christes lore and his Apostles twelve
 He taught, but first he followed it himselfe.”

The Clerk of Oxford, who satisfied the company of pilgrims with the story of Griselda, was a silent, lean, scarecrow of a man who preferred Aristotle and his philosophy to rich robes and gay music. Of similar sobriety was the Doctor of Physic who was well grounded in astronomy, and the Serjeant at Law who knew all the cases since the time of William the Conqueror.

The Sompnour, or Sheriff, who loved onions and hated friars, the Merchant and the Franklin (a Member of Parliament) were others of the better-to-do members of the party.

The Pardoner, of “ Rounçival,” was a man of affairs, judging by the spirit with which he advertised his wares—the relics.

“ This pardoner hadde hair as yellow as wax
 And smooth it hung as doth a hank of flax;
 By ounces hung his lockes that he had
 And therewith he his shoulders overspread.
 But thin it lay, in bundles, one by one . . .
 Nor was there such another pardoner,

For in his bag he had a pillow-beer (*case*)
Which that he said it was Our Lady's veil.
He said he had a morsel of the sail
That Saint Peter had when that he went
Upon the sea till Jesu Christ him hente (*caught*).
He had a cross of brass, full of stones,
And in a glass he hadde pigges bones.
And with these relics when that he had found,
A poor parson dwelling upon land,
Upon that day he gat him more money
Than that the parson gat in monthes twain,
And thus with feigned flattery and japes
He made the parson and the people his apes. . . .”

The much-married Wife of Bath, with her scarlet hose, led the lay womenfolk of the party. She had had five husbands and was a little deaf owing to a box on the ears given her by one of the dear departed. But she had travelled much and was clever at clothmaking.

The common folk of the party were led by the Miller, a strenuous soul, of uncouth presence.

“ Full big he was of brawn and eke of bones . . .
He was short-shouldered, broad, a thickké knave.
His beard as any sow or fox was red,
And thereto broad, as though it were a spade.
Upon the cop right of his nose he had
A wart, and thereon stood a tuft of hairs
Red as the bristles of a sowé's ears. . . .”

The Miller's pet antipathy was the slender, choleric Bailiff, or Reeve, with his long calfless legs. The Ploughman, the Shipman, the Goldsmith, the Weaver, the Haberdasher, the Dyer, the Tapestry Maker and the Cook, completed Chaucer's companions.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

MEDIÆVAL AGE

- (1) How far was the Holy Roman Empire "Roman" and "Imperial"?
- (2) Comment upon Philip of Neri's phrase, "a dozen *really detached men.*"
- (3) Describe the buildings in a typical mediæval monastery, adding a sketch map.
- (4) Name a dozen buildings in London at the time of Chaucer, indicating which are still existent.
- (5) What were the two most popular routes for Canterbury pilgrims?

CHAPTER X

RENAISSANCE

IF there is anything more splendid than faith—faith in oneself, faith in one's fellows, faith in the essential rightness of the world—it is doubt. Doubt, at its best, finds issue in the pricking desire for truth, the determination to seek and to find a better solution for world problems than the traditions of the hour afford. It is the quality the Greeks had, and the Egyptians had not.

We have seen the fair fruits of the Age of Faith: the early poetry of Ireland; such a scholar-saint as Bede; the founders of the great Catholic Orders; the builders of the Gothic Cathedrals. We have now to see what the contrary spirit of rebellion against tradition secured for the world. We shall find that it brought about the rediscovery of humanity which we know as the Renaissance. Too often the Renaissance is regarded as no more than the rediscovery of Greco-Roman art and letters. In reality it was "the rebirth" of the Greek spirit, the recovery of the Hellenic belief in the sufficiency of the human reason.

To understand the Renaissance, you must have a lively sense of the beliefs of the later Middle Ages. We have gained an impression of certain Churchmen

and know something of the men and women pictured by Chaucer in the "Prologue." What was their knowledge of science? Of what sort was the traditional lore upon which they could form a judgment or base an action?

In the King's Classics, issued by Chatto & Windus, there is an interesting and amusing little volume entitled *Mediaeval Lore*. It consists of extracts from a mediæval encyclopædia compiled about A.D. 1260 by Bartholomew, an English Franciscan friar. Bartholomew made no attempt at original research, but set out the accepted knowledge of his age in astronomy, physics, chemistry, geography and natural science. He principally relied upon Aristotle for physics, Pliny for natural history, and the Arab writers for astronomy.

Here are a few extracts from Bartholomew's work—

THE MERMAID

"The mermaid is a sea beast wonderly shapen and draweth shipmen to peril by sweetness of song. The gloss on Isaiah XIII. saith that sirens are serpents with crests. And some men say that they are fishes of the sea in likeness of women. Some men feign that there are three Sirens, some-deal women and some-deal fowls with claws and wings, and one of them singeth with voice and another with a pipe and a third with an harp, and they so please shipmen with likeness of song, that they draw them to peril and to ship-breach. But thesooth is that they were strong hores that drew men that passed by them to poverty and to mischief. And Physiologus saith it is a beast of the sea, wonderly shapen as a maid from the navel upward and a fish from the navel downward, and this wonderful beast is glad and merry in tempest, and

sad and heavy in fair weather. With sweetness of song the beast maketh shipmen to sleep, and when she seeth that they are asleep, she goeth into the ship and ravisheth which she may take with her and bringeth him to dry land and maketh him lie by her and if he will not or may not, then she slayeth him and eateth his flesh. Of such wonderful beasts it is written in the great Alexander's story."

MERRIE ENGLAND

"England is a strong land and a sturdy, and the plenteouest corner of the world, so rich a land that unneth it needeth help of any land and every other land needeth help of England. England is full of mirth and of game, and men oft times able to mirth and game, free men of heart, and with tongue, but the hand is more better and more free than the tongue.

THE PEACOCK

"The peacock hath an unsteadfast and evil shapen head, as it were the head of a serpent and with a crest. And he hath a simple pace and small neck and areared, and a blue breast, and a tail full of eyes distinguished and high with wonder fairness and he hath foulest feet and rivelled. And he wondereth of the fairness of his feathers and areareth them up as it were a circle about his head and then he looketh to his feet and seeth the foulness of his feet, and like as he were ashamed he letteth his feathers fall suddenly and all the tail downward, as though he took no heed of the fairness of his feathers. And as one saith, he hath the voice of a fiend, head of a serpent, pace of a thief. For he hath an horrible voice."

THE CROCODILE

"If the crocodile findeth a man by the brim of the water or by the cliff, he slayeth him if he may, and then he weepeth upon him and swalloweth him at the last.

THE OYSTER AND THE PEARL

" And though dew be a manner of airy substance, and most subtle outward, natheless in a wonder manner it is strong in working and virtue. For it besprinkleth the earth and maketh it plenteous and maketh flour, pith and marrow increase in corn and grains ; and fatteth and bringeth forth broad oysters and other shell fish in the sea. For by night in spring-time oysters open themselves against dew, and receive dew that cometh in between the two shells and hold and keep it ; and that dew, so holden and kept, feedeth the flesh and maketh it fat ; and by its incorporation with the inner parts of the fish breedeth a full precious gem, a stone that is called Margarita."

It is plain that a very little doubt, followed by patient investigation, would have done away with much of the traditional knowledge set out by Bartholomew the Englishman. But the influence of the Church in education discouraged inquiry, and the Church schools were all-powerful. When the Roman state schools passed away, Church schools arose. Almost to our own times the education of the young was in the hands of clerics, exceptions being the English grammar schools and the universities, where Church influence was considerable but not exclusive. For a thousand years the cloister schools in which the monks taught, vied with the schools attached to the great cathedrals, as the chief educational agencies in Christendom.

Though insistence upon traditional knowledge was the accepted teaching of the Church, there were notable exceptions. One of the earliest and best

known was Peter Abelard, who taught in Paris between A.D. 1100 and 1140. The basis of Abelard's method was rationalism.

"A doctrine is not to be believed," said Abelard, "because God has said it, but because we are convinced by reason that it is so."

Alarmed by the success of Abelard's teaching, the Church, headed by Bernard of Clairvaux, determined to oppose rationalism. A little later the rediscovery of Aristotle's *Organon*, by the weight of its authority crushed the critical faculty throughout Christendom. A few chosen spirits, like the Franciscan Roger Bacon (1214–1294), worked for the reformation of scientific method and the establishment of natural research. But even Roger Bacon found that the powers opposing him were more than a lonely scholar could combat.

Following the foundation of the University of Paris at the end of the eleventh century, universities were established in the next century or two at Oxford, Cambridge, Naples, Prague, Cologne, Heidelberg and Vienna. Their teaching was chiefly the traditional matter derived from Aristotle, upon which Chaucer's Clerk of Oxenford relied upon. With this went the body of philosophic dogma which reached its climax in the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. From a sense of logic, a few principles of Greek philosophy and the dogma of the Church, a highly organised body of fact and doctrine was developed into the system known as Scholasticism.

The relation of Scholasticism to the Renaissance can be judged from the following criticism by Lord Bacon, culled from the *Advancement of Learning*.

"This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign among the schoolmen who having sharp and strong wits and abundance of leisure and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time—did, out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their works. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth, indeed, cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."

The eleventh, the thirteenth, and the fifteenth centuries proved epoch-making from the standpoint of the rebirth of humanism and the reinvestigation of nature. The first gave the vitality which was needed for the great change; the second showed evidence of growth towards a new state of things; and the third revealed a movement of such magnitude and vigour that it was clearly destined to affect every institution, cleric and lay, in the Western World.

THE CRUSADES

During the eleventh century the wanderings of the Germanic tribes ended, and the Normans settled down in France, England, Southern Italy and Sicily. Trade began to increase and manufactures to grow. Everywhere there was abundant evidence of many-sided activities.

Then came the Crusades which bridged the interval to the thirteenth century. Occasional pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been not uncommon since the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, erected basilicas to mark the traditional sites of Christ's birth and death in Judæa. The pilgrimages even continued after the Arab conquest. In the time of Charles the Great a colony of French monks was established in Jerusalem on Mount Zion.¹ The religious revival following the Cluniac reforms increased the number of pilgrims. At the same time the conversion of the Hungarians, under St. Stephen, reopened the land route to Palestine through the Danube valley and spared the pilgrims a dangerous journey through the Mediterranean. In 1064, Archbishop Siegfried of Mayence headed a party of 7000 penitents. Only 2000 returned from the pilgrimage.

“Faith, fanatic faith, once wedded fast
To some dear falsehood, hugs it to the last.”

During the eleventh century came the conquests of the Seljukian Turks. Michael VII., the Byzantine ruler, appealed to Pope Gregory VII. to initiate a Holy War. After the Turks captured Jerusalem in 1076, the Emperor Alexius Comnenus renewed the appeal to Rome. Urban II. approved, and the First Crusade was launched. Just as Macedonia and Rome had sought an empire in the East, so did the leaders of Christendom. The kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa testify in part to the energy of the feudal lords who ruled them. But still more they testify to the far-

reaching power of the Church. The fighting men who held the feudal states in Asia Minor and Palestine were many of them monks in as real a sense as the Carthusians or the Cistercians themselves. The members of the Military Orders took the threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience. In times of peace, they professed to rule their lives after the manner of the Canons Regular.

The manifestation of papal power revealed by the Crusades is of great historic importance. Nevertheless, the line of thought chosen for this chapter rather requires us to search for evidence of the great increase of knowledge which came to the Western World through contact with other nations as a consequence of the Crusades. For example, the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Crusaders led to a better acquaintance with the works of Aristotle and other Greek authors.

Even more important was the knowledge of Saracen learning derived from such universities as that at Samarcand. The Saracen knowledge of science at this time was second to none. The Saracen students were more familiar with the old Greek philosophers than any French, Italian, or English scholars. Their texts and commentaries were translated into Latin by Jewish scholars in Spain for the use of Christendom. These Arab and Jewish schools in Spain culminated in Averroes (died 1198), a teacher who disputed precedence with Thomas Aquinas himself at the end of the Middle Ages.

THE ITALIAN CITY-STATES

The country which first profited by the knowledge of men and things revealed by the Crusades was Italy. Partly from its central position, partly from the fact that the North Italians were townsfolk, and not feudal lords and their retainers, Italy was almost a full century ahead of the rest of Europe. Writing of Italy in the thirteenth century, Sabatier, the gifted biographer of St. Francis, has said—

“ In the breast of the men of that time we think sometimes we feel the beating of a woman’s heart. They have exquisite sentiments, delightful inspirations, with absurd terrors, fantastic angers, infernal cruelties.”

This is true, and it means that the encrustations of mediævalism were broken and the elemental matter beneath was being revealed in all its rich variety. Above all there was in Italy a searching for old-time truths, hidden since Greek thought and art had been lost in the waste of Germanic barbarism. There was a new sense of the essential worth of man, a mystical intuition of the relation between humanity and nature. Birds, beasts and flowers, the sunshine, the rivers, and the hills; these things became active factors in shaping the new life.

We noted certain exceptions, but, in general, throughout the so-called Dark Ages—from A.D. 500 to 1000—any variety of mental or emotional experience was denied to the ordinary man. Travelling was not easy. Books were not common, and few

except ecclesiastics either possessed or could read them. News filtered with difficulty from one country, or even from one town, to another. Only the ruling class and the higher clerics could experience a fully developed nature. For the most part, the trader had experience only of trade; the monk, of a monastery.

In Italy, by the time of the Crusades, the city-state system had led to a different order of things. During the struggle between the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor, the North Italian cities developed very different characteristics. Genoa was differentiated from Pisa, both from Siena or Florence. Still more were they distinguished from the feudal principalities of Northern Europe. The Italian citizen had a real part in the communal life. He was not required to jettison a hundred satisfactions and ambitions which were out of place in the service of the Catholic Church or in a community dominated by a feudal lord. Thus a social philosophy arose in which human interests and emotions had their due place. The transition from mediævalism to the Renaissance can best be illustrated from the history of Florence, the Athens of the Italian Rebirth. Nowhere was a more strongly defined civic individuality evolved; nowhere did a citizen come more closely into contact with all the influences which make up a full life.

In the eighth century Florence was no more than a halting place on the road from Rome to the North. It was a market by the ford over the Arno, with the walled hill-town of Fiesole hard by. A fortified post such as Fiesole, the haunt of robber barons who preyed upon commerce passing along a main road, led to

the foundation of more than one Italian city-state. When the trading settlement on the banks of the Arno gained the right to build a wall as a protection against the marauding nobles of Fiesole, the history of Florence as an independent city-state commenced.

The second stage was reached when the Florentine townsfolk forced the marauding nobles of Fiesole to build their castles within the town. This came about in A.D. 1185. The full flower of the Tuscan genius blossomed when the cities in the Arno valley entirely broke the power of the feudal aristocracy. During the thirteenth century the Ghibelline nobles in and around Florence were forced to enrol themselves as members of the town gilds. For a time, they even controlled civic affairs. But in A.D. 1282 the Guelph (or democratic) triumph was accomplished. In 1293, the seven major gilds assumed control of the city. Florence was now ruled by a body of wealthy burghers. These wealthy burghers were the patrons of Florentine art.

THE PAINTERS OF FLORENCE

It would be of deep interest to trace in detail the numerous correlations between Florentine art and Florentine political, economic and social life. Though this is impossible, I will at least suggest a method which my readers can readily elaborate by a closer study of Florentine history and by visits to the National Gallery. Early in the twelfth century, the chief public building in Florence was the Baptistery. A new art era began when the Gild of Woollen Cloth

Dressers was requested to rebuild the Baptistry, and the Commune itself set to work to rebuild the Cathedral (the Duomo). The work upon the Florentine Duomo was commenced in 1296.

While the civic authorities were thus beautifying Florence, the various religious orders were adding monastic houses and churches. In particular, the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were essentially the missionaries of the Church to the rising democracies of Christendom, were busy. A similar movement can be traced in the chief towns of Italy, France and England. London had its great Dominican monastery at Blackfriars and its great Franciscan church on the site of Christ's Hospital in Newgate Street, with St. Paul's between the two. In Venice, the Dominican church of San Giovanni e Paolo and the Franciscan Frari can still be seen in opposing quarters of the city, with San Marco, a civic church, in the centre. In Florence, the Dominicans began to build the church of Santa Maria Novella in 1278. Fifteen years later, the Franciscans laid the foundations of the Church of the Holy Cross (Santa Croce).

The pious task of filling the great preaching churches and their chapels with frescoes occupied the following century and a half.

Hitherto there had been one school of painting in Western Europe which represented the fact that Christendom instinctively felt itself to be a single community. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Italian painters were faced with the problem of expressing a much greater variety of thought and feeling, traceable to influences which were democratic

rather than feudal; which belonged to the manufacturing and merchant class rather than to the small body of men who surrounded the mediæval prince, bishop, or abbot. Inspired by the strife of the market square and the clash of human will upon human will which is only possible in city life, the Italian architects built their cathedrals and Niccola Pisano and his followers carved their pulpits. These churches and statues were not made of stone and marble alone, but of vital, human experience.

So it was with the thirteenth-century Italian painters. Giotto was more than a craftsman whose ingenuity solved a fresh problem, and thereby evolved a new style in painting. He was more than a powerful personality, able to impress his method upon his contemporaries and the artists who came after. Rather it was given to Giotto to view the eternal verities by the dawn light of a new day. The delight of that first insight into the modern world comes back to us in his paintings. For that reason, Giotto worked not for his own age alone, but for all time.

There was the promise of the rebirth of the Greek spirit in all these things—in the Crusades, in the statuary of Niccola Pisano and the paintings of Giotto, in the civic institutions of England, France, Flanders and Italy, in the poems of Chaucer and Dante, in the sublime cathedrals of Northern France. But, properly they should be regarded as the final achievements of the Middle Ages. There was not yet the vitalising spirit of criticism, of inquiry, of doubt, which extend man's powers to the uttermost and give the human intellect full liberty.

This came in the fifteenth century. In sculpture,

the early critical spirit was embodied in Donatello; in painting, it first found full expression in Masaccio.

Masaccio ("Great Hulking Tom") was born in 1402 and was the pupil of Masolino ("Pretty Little Tom"). In the twenty-seven years of his short life Masaccio perfected the method of representing the human form and suggesting the movements of the human body. Giotto had been satisfied if his figures told a story vigorously and filled the space to be decorated effectively. Masaccio strove to depict a balanced and properly proportioned body. He first showed how drapery could be painted, so that it revealed rather than hid the form beneath. He showed how relief could be gained by opposing light masses to dark. The Church of the Carmelites—Santa Maria del Carmine—was consecrated in 1422, and Masolino was set to work upon the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel at once. When he had painted three pictures, Masaccio took over the work. He was then a youth in the early twenties. Five years later Masaccio was dead. But the paintings of this Keats of the brush inspired the painters of Northern Italy for almost a hundred years. As Lowell wrote—

"He came to Florence long ago,
And painted here these walls that shone
For Raphael and for Angelo,
With secrets deeper than his own,
Then shrank into the dark again,
And died, we know not how or when."

With Masaccio, painting gained what we call "reality," the "reality" we credit to prose but deny to poetry. He showed humanity, not as it was seen by the light of faith, but as it is seen by the science-

haunted spirits of our own time. Something was lost. The dramatic vigour of Giotto's best pictures is not to be found in Masaccio's frescoes. Instead, there is a modernity all our own.

THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY REALISTS

Masaccio cannot be adequately studied away from the Carmine Church at Florence, though an interesting painting from his brush has lately been added to the National Gallery. A Londoner would do better, therefore, to study the work of Piero della Francesca if he would understand the significance of the changed attitude of the fifteenth-century painters. Piero della Francesca was born about 1416 and worked through the greater part of the fifteenth century. Though of Umbrian birth, he was strongly imbued with the ideals which the Florentine painters learnt from Masaccio. In Piero's *Baptism of Christ* (No. 665) you can trace the effects of Masaccio's example. In general, the design follows the fresco of Giotto in the Acana Chapel at Padua. Christ stands in the river with John at His side, as in Giotto's picture. On the left is a group of angels. But what I want you to notice is the insistence upon realism in Piero's picture. The pomegranate tree which shadows the Saviour; the hilly landscape and its reflection in the river; the plants on the river bank, and above all the youth stripping off his shirt, a figure which occurs in a famous painting by Masaccio in the Church of the Carmine at Florence, as well as in a picture of the "Baptism" by Masolino in the Baptistery at Castiglione d'Olona. Piero set down nothing because it was merely pretty.

What Piero saw, interested him; and what interested him, he painted.

But there were technical problems in the art of painting, which demanded close study before naturalistic representation was possible and all that it implied. For example, there were problems of perspective. If you would understand how the Italian painters approached these, turn to the pictures of Paolo Uccello.

Uccello is represented in the National Gallery by a masterpiece. It is a battle scene showing Niccolo da Tolentino directing the attack against the Sienese at San Romano on St. John's Day, 1433. Uccello found in the battle a rare opportunity for experiments in linear perspective. Note the dead soldier lying across the picture, with his boots projecting into the frame and his head pointing to the hill-side. Uccello can scarcely have chosen the attitude for its grace. So with the arms, each carefully disposed in the foreground. Small wonder that Donatello cried, "Ah, Paolo, with this perspective of thine, thou art leaving the substance for the shadow!" Fortunately the gallant old captain in his turban of crimson and gold, the fighting men with their brave array of spears, and the hedge of orange and pomegranate trees, make up a decorative scheme so thrilling that we feel it would be impertinent to forgive the sturdy old explorer.

Lastly, there were problems connected with the anatomy of the human figure. Search out the "St. Sebastian" of Piero and Antonio Pollaiuolo (No. 292 in the National Gallery.) The picture was painted in 1475 for the altar of the Pucci family in the Church of San Sebastiano di Servi. The nude figure of the

saint hangs from a cross in the centre surrounded by a party of archers. The attitude of each archer differs. Every pose was clearly chosen with a view to the varied study of a common action. Throughout life Antonio Pollaiuolo was obsessed by the desire to know more of the human body and its movements. Says Vasari, "He understood the nude in a more modern manner than any of the masters before him and removed the skin from many corpses to see the anatomy beneath. He was the first to study the play of the muscles and their form and order in the body."

THE MEDICI FAMILY

The patient toil of a century, including the twenty-eight years of life of a Masaccio, the self-sacrifice of a Piero del la Francesca and the energetic purpose of an Antonio Pollaiuolo, made Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael and Michelangelo possible. It was no longer necessary for a man of genius to spend the best years of his life upon problems of technique. But, as we have seen in the Egypt of Rameses II., in the Assyria of Ashur-bani-pal, in Judæa, in Athens, and in Rome, the national powers had to be concentrated before the final achievement was possible. In Florence, this concentration arose when inter-state and inter-party strife ceased for a while, through the influence of the Medici family and the establishment of the princely court of Lorenzo dei Medici.

Lorenzo was the Pericles of the Florentine Renaissance. The rule of the major gilds in Florence, to which reference has already been made, was succeeded by the dominance of the Gild of Wool Workers.

The members of this gild had set up factories in the countries exporting the raw material of their trade and thus tended to become the financiers of the woollen industry. In the fifteenth century the Gild of Cloth Workers arose, which was wholly composed of capitalists, and occupied itself with financing the importation and sale of cloth. It superseded the Gild of Wool Workers.

Under these circumstances wealthy and ambitious men were naturally tempted to leave the manufacturing gilds and join the dominant merchant gild. Controlling the foreign finance of Florence, the leading merchants found that political power was also in their hands. An aristocracy of the capitalist merchants replaced the earlier democracy. There was much discontent. Cosimo dei Medici, head of a well-known Florentine family, utilised this discontent to establish himself as a tyrant. By A.D. 1423 the prestige of the capitalists was shaken and the Medici family joined their former political opponents—the lesser gilds. By the votes of the members of the lesser gilds, Cosimo was made Gonfaloniere. His wealth assisted Cosimo to maintain his popularity and even pass it on to his son and grandson. Following his father Piero, Lorenzo dei Medici took up the reins of Florentine government in 1469.

At their best the Florentine artists never departed from the reliance upon naturalism and the interest in human themes which they derived from their democratic origin. At first they were content to reproduce the things seen with the eye and touched with the hand. Later, they learnt to represent a human form so proportioned and so balanced that it

suggested a harmony which men sought in vain in the world of nature. Taught by the humanists, the Italism artists came to see that the finite was but a symbol of the infinite. Beyond the fleeting phenomena of the senses, they detected the melody of the ever-during Reality. So the insight of Greece became part of Italian experience. The Florentine was able to paint, not things only, but ideas about things. The new Florentine civilisation resembled that of ancient Greece in combining a sure constructive imagination with a critical insight which stopped at nothing. Knowledge was sought in every field of thought, and beauty was found in every realm of knowledge. What the democratic outlook of the city-states, together with the concentration of all Florentine effort under the Medici family, did for the North Italians may be gauged if we compare the science of Bartholomew the Englishman with the knowledge to be found in the diaries of Leonardo da Vinci. A convenient summary of the Da Vinci note-books has been made by Mr. McCurdy (published by Duckworth & Co.) It is worthy of the most careful study, as the record of one who has many claims to be regarded as the greatest man, not only of his age, but of all time. No disconnected quotations will give a real idea of the profundity of Da Vinci's thought and the strange variety of his interests. I will be content with a single passage taken, almost at random from the note-book at Windsor Castle, which is largely devoted to anatomical studies. Other original note-books can be seen at the British Museum and South Kensington.

" And this old man, a few hours before his death, told me that he had lived a hundred years, and that he did not feel any bodily ailment other than weakness, and thus, while sitting upon a bed in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova at Florence, without any movement or sign of anything amiss, he passed away from this life.

" And I made an autopsy in order to ascertain the cause of so peaceful a death, and found that it proceeded from weakness, through failure of blood and of the artery which feeds the heart and the other lower members, which I found to be very parched and shrunk and withered; and the result of this autopsy I wrote down very carefully and with great ease, for the body was devoid of either fat or moisture, and these form the chief hindrance to the knowledge of its parts.

" The other autopsy was on a child of two years, and here I found everything the contrary to what it was in the case of the old man. The old who enjoy good health die through lack of sustenance. And this is brought about by the passage to the mesaric veins becoming continually restricted by the thickening of the skin of these veins; and the process continues until it affects the capillary veins which are the first to close up altogether, and from this it comes to pass that the old dread the cold more than the young, and that those who are very old have their skin the colour of wood or of dried chestnut, because the skin is almost completely deprived of sustenance.

" And this network of veins acts in man as in oranges, in which the peel becomes thicker and the pulp diminishes the more they become old. And if you say that as the blood becomes thicker it ceases to flow through the veins, this is not true, for the blood in the veins does not thicken because it continually dies and is renewed."

Remember that the writer was not a professed anatomist. He was the painter of the " Virgin of the Rocks "; the modeller of the Sforza monument,

one of the famous equestrian statues of the Renaissance; an architect, inventor, and engineer of genius; a chemist, geologist and botanist, whose investigations are only being fully appreciated three hundred years after his death. Then you will begin to see the full potentialities of this "myriad-mind."

Perhaps it was just because of this "myriad-minded" quality in the Florentine genius that the greatest, though not the most significant and charming, achievements of Renaissance art were carried out in Rome rather than in Florence itself. Florence was the Athens of the Renaissance. It supplied craftsmen and thinkers to the Western World. Da Vinci died in France. Torrigiano worked in London, one result being the tomb of Henry VII. at Westminster Abbey. But it was the Rome of the great Popes which utilised the Florentine artists most fully. When Florentine science and Florentine insight passed to Rome, the full harvest of the Renaissance was garnered. Towards the end of the fifteenth century five states—Venice, Milan, Naples, Florence and the Papacy—dominated Italy. The Papacy alone was in a position to draw upon the artistic resources of all the rest. What was denied to Rome as a political unit, was freely granted to Rome as the centre of Christendom. Rome furnished a motive sufficient to stir the most sublime imaginings of a Raphael and a Michelangelo, the one to the decorations of the Vatican stanze and the other to the painting of the Sistine ceiling.

The thought which runs through this survey of the Renaissance idea will perhaps help us to a judgment upon the relative worth of the two achievements. This is Nietzsche's judgment—

"I rate Michelangelo higher than Raphael. And for this reason: Through all the Christian clouds and prejudices of his time, Michelangelo saw the ideal of a culture nobler than the Christo-Raphaelian. Raphael truly and modestly glorified the values handed down to him, but he did not bear within himself any yearning instincts of inquiry. Michelangelo, on the other hand, saw and felt the problem of the law-giver of new values."

A NOTE UPON THE STUDY OF THE RENAISSANCE

If the capacity to combine the Hellenic belief in reason with the Christian gospel in all its fullness and beauty is made the final test of the Renaissance achievement, Leonardo will be rated above either Raphael or Michelangelo. An understanding of the problem will serve as a proof that you have gained that hold upon the facts of Renaissance life which entitles you to judge so difficult a matter. Here are some of the events and personalities you will have to pass in review:—

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|--|------------------------------|
| Donatello, | 1386— 1466. | Rise of Naturalism, 1400—1475. | Masaccio 1402—1429. |
| Gozzoli, | 1420—1498. | Cosimo dei Medici, 1389—1464. | Fra Angelico, 1387— 1455. |
| Browning's <i>Lippo Lippi</i> . | | Fall of Constanti- nople, 1453. | Filippino 1457—1504. |
| Savonarola burnt, | 1498. | Lorenzo the Mag- nificent, 1448—92. | Botticelli, 1447— 1510. |

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA 1492

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|---|---|
| Michelangelo, | 1475— 1564. | Leonardo da Vinci, 1452—1519. | Raphael, 1483—1520. |
| St. Peter's, Rome. | | Pope Julius II. (1503) Pope Leo X. (1513). | Sistine Chapel (Vati- can). |
| Henry VIII. of England. | | Francis I. of France. | Charles V. of Ger- many. |
| Michelangelo's Medici Tombs. | | Siege of Florence, 1529. | Cellini, 1500—1571. |
| Giovanni Bellini, 1428—1516. | | Venetian Painters. | Tintoretto, 1512—94. Paul Veronese, 1528— 88. |
| Titian, 1477?—1576. | | | |

It is not easy to choose from the wealth of books which deal with the Italian Renaissance. For my own part, I turn and turn again to John Addington Symonds's volumes, and, particularly, to that on the Fine Arts. Add to this Walter Pater's *Renaissance Essays*. For Michelangelo, there is the little volume on the Sistine Chapel by Mr. March Philips which could be purchased for a shilling in pre-war times. But your most vivid impressions will be found, not in books, but in the collection of prints and in visits to such collections as the Renaissance rooms at the National Gallery, the Sculpture galleries at South Kensington, and the best of the provincial galleries. Get to know the best of these Renaissance pictures and statues, not only as the work of men of genius, but as the product of the movement which produced the modern world. Compare them with earlier work, especially the pictures painted under Byzantine influences. When you can detect in the paintings of the fifteenth-century Italians a determination to see the world from the standpoint of doubter rather than of believer, you will have learnt the chief historical lesson this most wonderful of art efforts can give.

And always remember the Renaissance was not confined to Italy. There was a "revival of learning" in England and France. Our Masaccio was Marlowe and our Raphael William Shakespeare; France had her Rabelais, her Villon and her Goujon. A nation may wait many years for her Renaissance, but come it must if her people are to achieve the greatest things possible to men. Without the Hellenic belief in the

human reason, and the Greek's pricking desire for truth, something will always be lacking.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

- - (1) Compare an Age of Faith with an Age of Reason.
 - (2) What was the effect of the Crusades upon Europe's geographical knowledge?
 - (3) Describe a picture by Masaccio in the Church of the Carmine, Florence.
 - (4) Is Browning's poem "*Fra Lippo Lippi*" fair matter for the student of history?
 - (5) Compare Raphael as a thinker with Leonardo da Vinci.

CHAPTER XI

REFORMATION

THIS "Introduction to World History" has brought my readers to the threshold of the history of our own times. Let me recall how our theme has grown. In the beginning we found palæolithic or neolithic man struggling with his primitive tools until he secured the choice of a permanent home, or, in other words, the power to select a chosen environment for himself and his offspring. Thence we passed to Egypt and Babylonia, and noted the tremendous effect of this physical environment in fashioning a civilisation; and to Judæa, where the shaping force was not environment but an idea. A new factor in history—this shaping idea. From these three things all history has arisen.

Firstly, the raw material, humanity.

Secondly, physical environment.

Thirdly, an idea for developing the human qualities and utilising, or countering, the effects of environment.

The Assyrian, Median and Persian conquerors had no ideas for developing the human qualities beyond enforcing blind obedience by means of brute force. They were followed by the Greeks, a nation of artists, inasmuch as their lives were fashioned to correspond with an ideal type. The Greek divinity was Reason. Last of the nations of the Ancient World

came Rome, whose divinity was Law and whose aim was Order.

When the Middle Ages commenced, after the fall of Rome, the possibilities of human organisation were exhausted. Humanity could do no more than make a new amalgam of the earlier methods. Byzantium combined the methods of the Eastern conquerors with a new form of law and order known as bureaucracy: Christendom combined the ideals of Judæa and the organising resources of Rome. Finally, the Renaissance recovered for the Western World the Greek sense of art, and redeveloped man's belief in reason.

History, then, is essentially a matter of point of view. It is art, science, philosophy, invention, or any other outstanding department of human thought or action, regarded from a special standpoint. In other words, history is to the general reader and non-professional student what philosophy was to the schoolmen—"the all of knowledge," the study which takes all knowledge for its province. The student of history is necessarily more modest in his aim than the professed philosopher. His justification, indeed, is that the chosen standpoint strictly limits a study which would otherwise be limitless. Therefore, in regard to each historic period, it is necessary to seek that distinctive experience which the age has added to the general dower of mankind. Around this characteristic experience the main facts range themselves more or less naturally. Following this general plan, we have been well aware that the method is not exhaustive. But it is *a* method, and,

in approaching so vast a subject as universal history, any method is better than none.

The study of the history of our own times, however, introduces new problems. The subjects to be reviewed and the personalities to be understood increase greatly in number. A book of the size of the present cannot attempt to grapple in detail with the facts and ideas essential to even an elementary understanding of the modern world.

Fortunately, the history of the centuries from the discovery of America to the Great War is covered by three other volumes in the New Teaching Series. Miss K. W. Spikes, in her *Light of History*, traces the growth of nationality in European nations with special reference to the problems which are in process of solution to-day. Mr. F. R. Worts, in his *Industrial History* volume, deals with such matters as the Industrial Revolution, the Factory Laws, the Capitalist System and Trade Unionism, basic themes in modern history. Mr. Worts's second book, *Citizenship*, supplements his political economy with the corresponding facts in politics, setting out among other things the significance of the British Parliamentary system and the implication of such ideas as the rights of citizens, education and liberty.

A more detailed analysis of the facts of European history may well follow the general study suggested by these works on industrialism, politics and citizenship. Nevertheless, I should be sorry to leave the student who has patiently worked with me through ancient and mediæval history under the impression that the method hitherto employed is valueless when he approaches modern problems. I, therefore, propose to confine myself to three ideas suggested by the words "Reformation," "Revolution," and "Reconstruction," and show how the facts of modern history may be grouped so as to introduce some order into the complexity of modern politics, industry, art, science and other departments of thought and action which combine to make up the history of our own times.

THE GERMAN REFORMATION

What the Renaissance was in the sphere of art and science, the Reformation was in the sphere of politics. And it is noteworthy that the Reformation chiefly affected countries which had not been touched by the Renaissance in art. J. A. Symonds once said that "the people of the North regarded Italy as a radiant daughter of Sin, tempting the nations to eat of the tree of knowledge." If Italy seemed a Circe to the Northern nations, Germany, the home of the Reformation, was a Polyphemus to the people of the South.

The earnest, pious strugglers of the North and the volatile free-livers of sunny Italy have long been sharply contrasted. For centuries the great mountain chains of mid-Europe separated the North and the South. The long winters, the dense forests, and the sombre skies produced thoughts and feelings in the Northmen which were very different from the ideas nourished by the soft warm winds and clear blue skies of the South. Mrs. Browning wrote—

" 'Now give us lands where the olives grow,'
Cried the North to the South.

'Where the sun with a golden mouth can blow
Blue bubbles of grapes down a vineyard row !'
Cried the North to the South.

'Now give us men from the sunless plain,'
Cried the South to the North.

'By need of work in the snow and the rain,
Made strong and brave by familiar pain !'
Cried the South to the North."

If there was this root difference between the country where the Renaissance had its birth and the

land where the Reformation grew to strength, there was much that was similar. In Germany and the Netherlands, as in Italy, France and England, great trading towns had arisen during the later Middle Ages, with far-flung commercial activities and an exuberant political life. The wealth and power of Nuremberg—typical of a dozen great towns in Germany—arose from its position on one of the great highways leading over the Alps to Venice and Genoa. The wool of England, the cloth of the Low Countries, the Eastern trade from Venice, passed through the town. Many German merchants had branch establishments in Italy and the rich trading towns of the Netherlands. The civic development of the German towns was also curiously like that of the Italian cities. Thus, by 1417, the magistracy of Nuremberg was able to purchase all the rights essential to civic freedom from the Counts of Hohenzollern, who had occupied the Burgraves fortress after 1191, and dominated Nuremberg much as the Counts of Fiesole had controlled Florence. The contest between the city and the Hohenzollerns did not end. But, so far as the townsfolk of Nuremberg were concerned, there was no doubt as to the issue. Gunpowder had ruined feudalism. The mounted troops of the feudal age were no more useful than the democratic footmen. Castles were impregnable no longer. Nuremberg felt able to defend itself.

As a whole Germany was not a wealthy country. In 1500, the streets of many towns were narrow and the houses were of wood. The burghers often kept their cattle in their homes. The swine were driven

to the civic pasture every morning by the town herdsmen. The churches and the town halls alone suggested prosperity. But in Nuremberg it was different. *Æneas Sylvius*, a future Pope, said : “The Kings of Scotland would like to live as well as the burghers of Nuremberg.” Hans Sachs, the shoemaker poet, who was born in 1494, has described the eleven stone bridges, the six great gates, the stately streets and the houses of the merchant princes with their gleaming roofs and gables. Nuremberg was ruled by an oligarchy similar to that of Venice. The burghers openly declared their intention to make their city the Florence of Germany. Scholars were attracted. Regiomontanus, the mathematician, chose Nuremberg as a place of residence because he found there instruments in plenty, and because the “perpetual journeyings of her merchants enabled him to keep in touch with the learning of other countries.” Craftsmen came from all parts, even from Italy. Hans Sachs was able to say of the town—

“Here may be seen artisans who can print, paint and smelt, foundrymen, sculptors, carpenters and builders, whose like is not to be seen in any realm.”

In Nuremberg, with its crooked street, its red-tiled roofs, its quaint dormers, its picturesque courtyards, its imperial castles and its Gothic churches, Albert Durer, the painter and engraver, was born in A.D. 1471. Albert Durer was to the German genius what Leonardo was to the Italian. Both sought and both were able to express the passion which pulses within all created things, which the

human heart can feel, though the hand may not touch nor the eye see. If the rhythm of the Universe beat upon the brain of Leonardo, in Durer surged that fierce energy which is ever breaking into new endeavour in created things. Albert Durer is a man of whom you will desire to know more. See the beautiful portrait of his father in the National Gallery. There is a convenient little life, excellently illustrated, by Miss Lina Eckenstein (Duckworth). It will cost you about 2s. war price. Still better is Sir Martin Conway's transcription of Durer's autobiography, one of the great human documents of all time.

Just as Leonardo must be studied in his drawings, so Durer must be studied in his engravings upon wood and copper if his sincerity and breadth of vision are to be judged aright. Purchase a copy of Durer's "Melancholia" and have it framed for your study. The English word "melancholia" is not a happy translation of Durer's title. What he sought to picture was the mood which comes with full knowledge, the mood we associate with Milton's "Il Penseroso." In the engraving, the Genius of Thought is sitting with her mighty wings at rest; her head bound with the laurels of achievement; around are the symbols of the crafts and sciences.

A work of wonderful beauty and depth of meaning. It will grow upon you as the months pass. For the moment, note only that Durer's "Melancholia" suggests that Germany missed some of the zest of the Renaissance. The Northern humanists had to justify the New Learning as a useful rather than as a pleasure-

giving thing. The joy-time, during which the buds of the New Learning were bursting into blossom, was given to Italy alone. To the early Italian humanists the study of the classics brought a rapturous satisfaction in the freshly revealed powers of the human mind. The men of the North missed this. Before such a scholar as Erasmus brought the fruit of the New Learning across the Alps, the time of joyful exploration had passed. Instead of accepting humanism for the good thing it was, and treasuring it on its own account, the men of the North were impelled to such searching questions as these—

- (1) Should the political influence of the Catholic Church continue?
- (2) Could such a dictum be upheld, as that which Boniface VIII. enunciated in the Papal Bull of 1302, "that the temporal sword was subject to the spiritual"?
- (3) Was the opinion justified which Innocent III. expressed in the words: "To the Bishop of Rome, all lands and all who dwell in them are subject. Only the episcopate has a divine origin; temporal sovereignty is a purely human institution."

Such were the issues involved in the Reformation. The countries we now know as Germany, Austria, Hungary, Spain, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, England and Scotland all contributed elements essential to the Reformation. The history of all these countries between 1492 and 1650 must be known in considerable detail before the political significance of the Reformation can be understood.

Some historical maps are also essential, particularly one covering Germany in the sixteenth century; another the Spanish Empire; and a third the Netherlands (Belgium and Holland) at the time of William the Silent and the inauguration of the Dutch Republic.

The problem of the Reformation is not an easy one. I can say no more than this. Remembering what Christendom meant to Europe between A.D. 500 and 1500, you will find a useful key to the riddle in this thought—the Catholic organisation was a political machine which had outlived its usefulness and required to be thoroughly overhauled before it could cope once more with the tasks which were within its power.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

The Counter-Reformation, or Catholic Reaction, was the effort of the Roman Catholic Church to remodel its organisation to meet the conditions arising from the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 and the growth of modern nations. The student will find that the Catholic Reaction can best be studied from the standpoint of Spain, the country which supplied the Papacy with its chief champion, Ignatius Loyola, and its most powerful weapon, the Society of Jesus, against the Reformation.

As a result of the Reformation and the Catholic Reaction, Spain, Italy, France, Poland, Bohemia, South Germany and the Southern Provinces of the Netherlands either declined to surrender their allegiance to the Pope or eventually returned to the

Catholic faith. Protestantism was established in Northern Germany, England, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland and Scandinavia.

It is of deep interest to compare the art of the Catholic Reaction in Italy and Spain with that of the Italian Renaissance and the German Reformation. Whereas the Puritan mood of the Reformers caused the arts to "grow cold," as the saying was, under Catholicism a richly sensuous and imaginative art-effort was encouraged. We associate it with such a painter as Guido Reni and such a sculptor as Bernini. True, the religious enthusiasm of the Catholic Reaction was a poor substitute for the civic pride of the fifteenth century or the culture of Lorenzo the Magnificent and his comrades who gathered at the Medicean villas. But whereas the Roman Catholic was a maker and preserver of art objects, the Lutheran was generally an iconoclast. True, a man like Durer, who was a moderate Lutheran, protested against the wholesale destruction of pictures as idolatrous paraphernalia. He pleaded that "a Christian would no more be led to superstition by a picture or an effigy than an honest man to commit murder because he carried a weapon by his side." But, in times when the struggle for Reformation was keenest, iconoclasm was most general. Nowhere was it more general than in the Spanish provinces of the Netherlands, covering what we now know as Belgium and Holland.

The largest and most prosperous city in the Spanish Netherlands was Antwerp, whose fortunes were founded upon the calamities of Bruges. When the

Hansa markets were moved from Bruges in 1560 the misfortunes of the old Burgundian capital were complete. Early in the sixteenth century the only city in Northern Europe to compare with Antwerp was Paris. Capitalists such as the Fuggers of Germany were established there. The town was governed by a Marquis and a Stadholder sworn to rule according to the ancient charters. Antwerp had its own militia. Five thousand merchants met in the Exchange daily. Two thousand five hundred ships were sometimes to be counted in the port at one time, five hundred coming and going daily.

Foremost among the churches of Antwerp was that of Notre Dame, which was founded in 1124 and rebuilt in the fourteenth century. The merchant gilds and the clubs of the civic militia had their chapels in Notre Dame. Internally it was rich beyond expression. Motley says : "The penitential tears of centuries had incrusted the whole interior with their glittering stalactites."

Motley goes on to tell how the church was desecrated during the image-breaking which followed the field preaching of 1566. A Protestant mob invaded the cathedral. The warders were driven from the treasury. As night fell the rabble dragged the image of the Virgin from its receptacle, plunged daggers into its inanimate body, tore off its jewelled and embroidered garments and broke the figure into a thousand pieces.

" Every statue was hurled from its niche; every picture torn from the wall, every painted window shivered to atoms, every ancient monument shattered,

every sculptured decoration hurled to the ground. A colossal and magnificent group of the Saviour crucified between two thieves adorned the principal altar. The statue of Christ was wrenched from its place with ropes and pulleys, while the malefactors, with bitter and blasphemous irony, were left on high. A very beautiful piece of architecture decorated the choir—the “repository,” as it was called, in which the Body of Christ was figuratively enshrined. This rested upon a single column, but rose, arch upon arch, pillar upon pillar, to the height of 300 feet, till lost in the vault above. It was now shattered into a million pieces. The statues, images, pictures, ornaments, as they lay upon the ground were broken with sledge-hammers, hewn with axes, trampled, torn and beaten into shreds. A troop of harlots, snatching waxen tapers from the altars, stood around the destroyers and lighted them at their work.”

It was such destruction as this which the Jesuits and the other leaders of the Catholic Reaction set themselves to right in Antwerp and the Spanish Netherlands. Thus Rubens and his pupils built and decorated the church of the Jesuits in Antwerp, which was completed in 1620. Moreover, the iconoclastic disturbances largely account for the peculiar form in which the genius of Rubens found expression. He really founded a picture factory at Antwerp. From the master’s sketches, Rubens’s pupils “laid in” the altar-pieces and other religious and heroic pictures which left the studio by the score each year. There was no secrecy about the matter. No other method would have sufficed to meet the demand of

the Spanish viceroys and their monkish and priestly associates in the task of holding the Netherlands for Spain and the Roman Church.

On the night Notre Dame was pillaged, thirty churches were sacked in Antwerp. Within a few weeks 400 churches were raided in the province of Flanders alone. When Philip II. heard the news he cried, tearing his beard in rage, "It shall cost them dear; it shall cost them dear! I swear it by the soul of my father."

The efforts of King Philip II. saved the southern provinces of the Netherlands for Catholicism. The northern provinces which we now call Holland were given over to the Protestant faith. You can read the story of the *Rise of the Dutch Republic* in the pages of Motley. I can do no more than introduce you to the book, one of the most fascinating historical narratives ever penned by a scholar of imagination. With Prescott, as well as Motley, the general reader is excellently served when he turns to the history of the Spanish Empire.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

THE REFORMATION

- (1) Why did a Luther arise in Germany between A.D. 1518 and 1540?
- (2) Why did Spain remain Catholic?
- (3) Characterise the three Popes chiefly responsible for the Counter-Reformation.
- (4) How was Rembrandt the painter related to the Dutch Revolution?
- (5) How did the Reformation fare in France?

CHAPTER XII

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

is Revolution? We have sought a lively impression of the terms Renaissance and Reformation. What is Revolution?

In mediæval times, Western Europe was regarded as one people. It had one language, Latin; one faith, the Catholic; one social system, the feudal; and one form of government, that which recognised the Holy Roman Emperor as supreme in secular affairs and the Pope as supreme in spiritual. This was possible when Western Europe was young. As each state matured, however, it strove to find a language and even an art of its own, in which its thoughts and feelings would find full expression. Each desired to live its own life in its own way.

In a word, each state demanded "Liberty." First came liberty of the mind, the movement we have termed Renaissance. Then came the freeing of the spirit. This was Reformation. Thirdly, there came the demand for freedom of the body social and politic. This was Revolution.

If this thing, Revolution, is to be rightly understood, it must be learnt by drum taps. So it was taught to the boy Heine by Monsieur le Grand, the French drummer, who looked like a devil, yet had

the heart of an angel, and who drummed excellently well. Heine tells us :

"So he taught me modern history. True, I didn't understand the words, but as he kept on drumming while he spoke, I knew what he meant. At bottom, this is the best method. The storming of the Bastille, the taking of the Tuileries and the like; we understand them first when we know how the drumming was done. In our history books at school we read : 'Their Excellencies, the Baron and the Count, with the most noble spouses of the aforesaid, were beheaded. Their Highnesses, the Dukes and Princes, with the most noble spouses of the aforesaid, were beheaded. His Majesty the King, with his most sublime spouse the Queen, was beheaded.' But when you hear the red guillotine march, drummed, you know for the first time and see the how and the why."

Force is the essence of Revolution; that is why we must have a drum-tap knowledge of it. Without the impression of white-hot passion and hope aflame, the thing is a mere word. In so far as Revolution was a revolt against the political dominance of the Catholic Church we have dealt with it already. But, in most countries, the revolt was rather against a despotism which had survived from the feudal times. The ruin of feudalism, following the invention of gunpowder, had prepared for the advent of an era of great kings, if only because the Crown alone could afford the train of artillery which was to supersede the old-time knight in armour.

Renaissance political thought had identified the state with its sovereign, and the theory was not seriously disputed while the wars of Religion were in progress. Philip II. really did appear to be the

embodiment of Spanish Imperialism. Elizabeth, Louis XIV. of France, Charles XII. of Sweden, Peter the Great and Joseph II. were all accepted as fully representing their countries in their time.

Revolution, then, was the forcible destruction of a system which exalted dynastic or class interests at the expense of the general interests of the state. It is the process we are witnessing in Russia, Hungary and Germany. It is the purging England itself underwent in the times of Cromwell. Revolution received its classic form in eighteenth-century France between 1789 and the coming of Napoleon to power. But Revolution, as we are seeing to-day, is valueless by itself. It is invariably followed by Reaction, and if all goes well, by Reconstruction. It is the reconstruction which matters.

When all has been said and suffered, Revolution is no more than a means to an end. Even the most ardent revolutionary desires to harvest something from the bloodiest and most destructive struggle with the forces of convention. The pathetic thing is that a higher degree of material, mental and spiritual well-being is not the first thing, but the last, achieved by a great revolution.

THE STUDY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY HISTORY

Remember this when you approach the study of the nineteenth century, the hundred years which commenced in 1815 and ended with the outbreak of the World War in August 1914. It is impossible

to select from a score of outstanding experiences which these hundred years gave to humanity, and say, with assurance, this or that is the most significant. But if there is one impression which seems to give more insight into the nature of the nineteenth century than the rest, it is this :

One hundred and twenty-five years have passed since the Terror of 1793. Yet the full aims of the French revolutionaries have still to be secured. The construction of a new world, which has been going on for a century, is still incomplete.

You will find it no easy task to marshal the mere facts of nineteenth-century history. Perhaps the simplest summary of world history since the French Revolution is to be found in Mr. R. Mackenzie's *The Nineteenth Century*, published by Messrs. Nelson & Sons. The book sets out the main circumstances of the Napoleonic *régime* and the reaction which followed. It describes the social conditions in Britain which led up to the Reform Bill and the passing of the Factory Acts and other industrial legislation. After chapters on Chartism, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the history of France under Napoleon III. and the Second Empire, Mr. Mackenzie surveys the recent history of Germany, Austria, Italy, the United States and the Papacy. This information can be brought up to date by Mr. G. P. Gooch's *History of our Time* (1885–1913) in the Home and University Library. Put into tabular form, the political happenings and personalities which must be understood if we are to have any connected knowledge of latter-day history may be thus set out :

| | | |
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| "The Holy Alliance" (A.D. 1815). | Reaction against Metternich (Austria). French Revolution. | |
| In France, 1830. British Reform Bill. | Revolutions of '30 and '48. | In Germany, Austria and Italy, 1848. |
| Victor Emmanuel and Cavour. | Union of Italy, 1861. | Garibaldi and Mazzini. |
| President Lincoln. | American Civil War, 1861. | Lee and Grant. |
| William I., King, 1861. | Prussia v. Austria, 1866. | Bismarck, Minister, 1862. |
| Surrender of Metz, 1870. | Germany v. France, 1870. | Emperor Napoleon III. |
| France a Republic, 1871. | | |
| France in Tunis. Italy in Tripoli. | Growth of Imperialism. | Germany in Africa. British in Africa. |
| Federation of British Empire. | Germany v. Britain. | William II. and his Navy. |
| Germany & Austria Republics. | The World War, 1914. | Balkan Wars, 1910-1913. |

These vast political changes are far from exhausting the basic facts of the nineteenth century. Our table does not set out such factors as the coal age, the railway and the steamship, and the growth of great towns which followed the introduction of the factory system. It makes no mention of the vast increase of wealth which came both to Capital and Labour as a result of the nineteenth-century inventions, or the effects of the gold discoveries in California, Australia and South Africa. The rise of Trade Unionism, the industrial strikes and the struggle of the proletariat, including women, for the suffrage, have also to be understood and related to the main political movements of the nineteenth century.

Moreover, if Leonardo da Vinci must be related to

the history of Northern Italy in the fifteenth century, and Rembrandt to that of the Dutch Republic, the student of the nineteenth century will wish to know what was the influence of such men as Wordsworth and Turner upon their age, and what was the influence of their age upon Wordsworth and Turner. The Romanticism of Scott, Shelley, Byron, Delacroix, Chopin and Wagner; the outlook of Dickens, Tennyson, the Brownings and Rossetti, not to mention Kipling, Galsworthy and Wells, must also be realised if we are to have a lively sense of the nineteenth century.

THE MEMORY OF NAPOLEON

Lastly, there is the dominating memory of Napoleon the Great, at once the first of the reactionaries and the first of the reconstructors who followed upon the French Revolution. By breaking down the barriers between scores of small states and principalities in mid-Europe and carrying the knowledge of the French Revolution far beyond the borders of France, Napoleon contributed in a supreme degree to the growth of political and social liberty in Europe. It is very doubtful if the unity of Italy and of Germany would have been possible, had it not been for Napoleon.

A general knowledge of Napoleon's life is, therefore, essential, if the nineteenth century is to be understood. A short and simple character study of Napoleon, putting the main facts of the Emperor's life in a form which can be readily memorised, has been written by Dr. Max Lenz and a translation has been published by Hutchinson. For a more scientific

and impartial account, the student may be referred to Dr. Holland Rose's *Life of Napoleon*, while the Napoleonic volume in the Cambridge Modern History is a valuable mine for reference.

No one can grasp the significance of Napoleon's life-story in a few days or even weeks. Here is a problem in which considerable detail is essential to a right understanding. Napoleon's life, however, is so varied in its interests and so romantic in its detail that you are not likely to stop with the first sketch. Born in 1769, five years before Louis XVI. came to the throne of France, Napoleon was a Corsican by birth and a subject of the Republic of Genoa. The long conflict between Corsica and Genoa before the island was handed over to France is the first thing to be understood. Then comes that wonderful woman, Napoleon's mother. The years in which the boy served the *ancien régime* at the military schools of Brienne and Paris were also a formative period never to be forgotten.

Passing to revolutionary times, Napoleon was in Paris at the time of the storming of the Tuilleries by the Parisian mob—his first experience of active politics. In 1793, the year of the Terror, he was at Nice, in charge of certain coast batteries. These had been manned against the British Fleet which appeared off Toulon to support a local revolt against the French National Convention. In September 1793 it chanced that the director of artillery at Toulon was wounded. When Napoleon came from Nice a few days later, he found the Republican commanders willing to give him the vacant position. Napoleon, who was now twenty-four years of age, at once gave

evidence of an untiring industry combined with daring yet sound judgment. His plan for driving the English from the harbour at Toulon was adopted. After Toulon had been successfully assaulted, the Republican general wrote to Paris warmly commanding Napoleon's services. The young artillery officer was raised to the rank of brigadier-general. A few weeks later Napoleon was transferred to Paris, and did signal services to the revolutionary leaders as commander of the Convention Guard, charged with the safety of the Government. By October 1795, at the age of twenty-six, he had risen to the rank of general of division. In Paris he met Josephine de Beauharnais, widow of a marquis who had died under the guillotine a year before. Another fascinating problem in the life story of Napoleon Bonaparte—his love for Josephine, his marriage and his divorce.

During 1796 and 1797 Napoleon commanded the French armies in Italy and forced Austria to make peace with the French Republic. More important still, he collected that wonderful band of subordinate generals who were to serve him so well in later campaigns, including Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Marmon and Augereau. When Napoleon returned to Paris in December 1797 it was as a conqueror for his "triumph." It is of deep significance that this man of twenty-eight could write to Talleyrand such words as these :—

" We hold the balance of Europe. . . . I regard it as not impossible that in a few years great ends may be attained which a heated and enthusiastic imagination can shadow forth, but only the coolest, most persevering and calculating intellect can secure."

Napoleon's campaign in Egypt in 1798, his return to Paris in 1799 and his election as First Consul, were steps in a career which reached its climax when Napoleon became Emperor of the French in 1804. By this time there was no need to look further for the possessor of the cool, persevering and calculating intellect.

Do not attempt to master the details of all these episodes. Any one of them might furnish matter for months of patient research. I would suggest that you first seek to put a precise meaning upon the entries in the following table, and assure yourself that you have a broad impression of their interconnection in Napoleon's life :—

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| Revolts in La Vendée, Lyons, etc. | <i>Second Invasion of Powers</i> , 1793. | Carnot, Organiser of Victory. |
| The Directoire, 1795–1799. | Napoleon in Paris, 1795. | Napoleon at Toulon, 1793. |
| Treaty of Campo Formio. | Napoleon in Italy, 1796. | Bridge of Lodi, 1796. |
| Pitt Premier, 1784–1805. | Napoleon in Egypt, May 1798. | Battle of Nile, August. |
| First Consul, Dec. 1799. | <i>Napoleon Returns to France</i> , Oct. 1799. | Becomes Emperor 1804. |
| Pitt declares War, 1803. | Napoleon's Civil Reforms. | Wordsworth's <i>Sonnets</i> . |
| Trafalgar, Oct. 1805. | Napoleon defeats Russia and Austria. | Austerlitz, Dec. 1805. |
| Hardy's Dynasts. | | Death of Pitt. |
| Peninsular War, 1807. | Campaign of Jena. | Goethe, 1749–1832. |
| Wellington, 1769–1851. | Defeat of Prussia, 1806. | Queen Louise |
| Uprising of Germany, Feb. 1813. | <i>The Russian War</i> . Moscow, Sept. 1812. | Defeat of Napoleon. Leipzig, Oct. 1813. |
| Congress of Paris, 1814. | Allies occupy Paris. | Napoleon in Elba. |
| "The Hundred | Napoleon leaves Elba, Feb. 1815. | Victor Hugo born, 1802. |
| Defeats Prussians at Ligny, June 16. | Battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815. | Death of Napoleon, St. Helena, 1821. |

Napoleon was first and foremost a soldier, and you will desire some knowledge of a typical Napoleonic campaign and battle. Commence with Austerlitz and follow with a study of Jena, fought in 1805 and 1806. A useful summary of the Napoleonic campaigns, with some maps, will be found in "Wars of the Nineteenth Century," reprinted from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It may be supplemented by Mr. Atteridge's sketch of Marshal Murat's life (T. Nelson & Sons). For a study of the Waterloo campaign there is nothing better than Hilaire Belloc's little volume published by Swift & Co.

Do not forget that Austerlitz, Jena and Wagram were not the achievement of one man. They were the work of one man *and a system*. Napoleon's general staff must never be forgotten in an estimate of Napoleon's genius and in any attempt to judge of his military method. If Berthier had been Chief of Staff at Waterloo and Murat had led the cavalry charges and one of the old commanders had been in charge of Grouchy's column, Waterloo might well have been a temporary victory instead of a decisive defeat.

No account of a Napoleonic campaign has any value without maps, and preferably maps you have constructed for yourself. Throughout use an historical atlas. The "Literary Atlas of Europe," in the Everyman Series, will suffice, and will also afford useful material for earlier studies, such as the Reformation, the world discoveries and the Revolution. Finally, that you may gain a vivid sense of the personalities in the world of Napoleon, read and

re-read Thomas Hardy's *The Dynasts*, which contains a remarkable series of character sketches. Hardy's *Dynasts* is an excellent book for extra-illustration. Maps, plans of battles, pictures of Napoleon and Napoleonic battles, will all find a place. Portraits of such men and women as Moore, Wellington, Pitt, Hardenburg, Blücher, George III., George IV., the Emperor Francis, Queen Louise of Prussia, the Empress Josephine and the Empress Marie Louise can be readily obtained. Not only will your store of Napoleonic impressions be enriched, but you will find that you have a deeper appreciation of one of the few outstanding works which the Napoleonic struggle has given to English letters.

And as you desire a knowledge of Napoleon in his hours of triumph, so you must know him in times of distress and defeat. Before Leipzig and Waterloo, Napoleon was a broken man. His constant campaigns had drained France of her young manhood. The women of France no longer believed in the Napoleonic star. At a time when he should have been consolidating his throne against impending troubles, Napoleon launched his ill-fated campaign against Russia.

The Moscow Campaign suggests the act of a gambler. After the triumph at Erfurt, where Napoleon was the foremost figure in an "audience of kings"; where he had conversed with Goëthe; and where, map in hand, he traced out the story of Jena for the benefit of the Czar Alexander, fortune was not kind to the Emperor. The price paid for the victory of Wagram was a heavy one. He knew

Talleyrand to be intriguing with his enemies. Wellington's campaign in Spain was an ever-present source of weakness. Josephine was childless, yet a son seemed to the Emperor to be the only means whereby he could wipe out the taint of upstart origin which still clung to his house. After a struggle Josephine had submitted to exile at Malmaison and Napoleon was wedded to Marie Louise, the daughter of the Emperor of Austria. She was eighteen years of age, but had neither the wit nor the charm of Josephine. The marriage was celebrated by proxy at Vienna in March 1810. A year later, a son was born. Napoleon laid the iron crown of Rome on the baby's cradle. But even his boy did not bring the Emperor peace. Napoleon was a "man who could not be amused," as Talleyrand said with malicious accuracy.

So matters stood when Napoleon learnt that Russia, a nominal ally, was failing him. The Czar Alexander was angered at the barrier which the French Emperor had set up against Russian aggression in Poland. He retaliated by refusing to assist Napoleon in the continental blockade against English manufactures. Napoleon assured himself of the help of Prussia, Austria and Poland, and decided to march into Russia. He had full warning of the dangers before him. Narbonne, in particular, urged him to be content with seizing Poland and establishing a Polish nation. "What more can be gained by marching towards Moscow? By putting 800 leagues between you and France, you will embolden your enemies by exposing yourself and the whole world

to unforeseen chances and the fathomless whims of fortune."

But Napoleon would not be persuaded. With a flash, he cried :—

" After all, this long march is the way to India ! In order to reach the Ganges, Alexander started from a spot as far off as Moscow. I have said this to myself ever since St. John of Acre."

Then, looking straight at Narbonne, Napoleon went on —

" Do not be mistaken; I am a Roman Emperor. I belong to the race of Cæsar. The race that builds up nations. Like Diocletian, I have pacified the people by showing them my love. Like Trajan, I have vanquished in the East and on the Rhine; and, at home, I have reconstituted society by my display of moderation, which, in spite of all that is said, is the fundamental law of my government. As Trajan succeeded Domitian, I arose amidst the recollections of terrorism, extended the State and shed a lustre over it. I have followed his traces beyond the Danube and the Vistula. But I must go further towards the North—for there lies the danger and the future."

There was an element of the mystic in Napoleon. The root of the word "mystic" means "to close." A mystic holds some faculty of vision within him for a while, and at the same time shuts out every disturbing factor. So the reason is laid asleep, while the inward eye perceives. The result of such vision is a sense of certitude which reason alone never gives.

You will not understand Napoleon unless you credit him, upon occasion, with this gift of inner vision. He was more than an officer who by strength of character and ruthless determination made himself an Emperor. Every one is entitled to his own judgment upon the results of the life-work of Napoleon. The individual must decide for himself whether good or evil predominated. But beware of a hasty and harsh judgment. Spend a few hours visualising Napoleon at work upon the problems which he actually had to solve. You will find that a final judgment is difficult. Here are a few of Napoleon's sayings, roughly divided into the three planes on which human thought and human effort is possible. True, they are only words, and words are outweighed by actions in the balance of human happenings. But they may cause you to hold your judgment before you determine that a man who achieved so much was moved by nothing except personal ambition, and that his influence upon world affairs made for evil and not for good. Remember the chaos left by the Revolution and the task with which the first Reconstructor was faced. Remember our chief aim in this first vision of Napoleon is not to gauge what he did, but "what he did justly." "The rest is all smoke and waste."

SOME SAYINGS OF NAPOLEON

THE PHYSICAL PLANE

"With my sword at my side and Homer in my pocket I hope to carve my way through the world."

(While at school at Brienne.)

"A soldier is only a machine to obey orders. I travel from twenty to twenty-five leagues a day, in carriages, or horseback—in every manner. I go to bed at eight o'clock, and am up again by midnight."

(To Josephine; October 13, 1806, 2 a.m.)

LETTER TO PRETET, Minister of the Interior, November 14, 1807, regarding the cutting of canals:—

"I have made the glory of my reign to consist in changing the surface of the territory of my kingdom."

THE MENTAL PLANE

"I am always working. I think much. If I appear always ready to meet every emergency, to confront every problem, it is because, before undertaking any enterprise, I have long considered it and have thus foreseen what could possibly occur. It is no genius which suddenly and secretly reveals to me what I have to say or do in some circumstance unforeseen by others; it is my own meditation and reflection."

THE SPIRITUAL PLANE

"I feel the infinite in me."

"Imagination rules the world."

"Religion is the dominion of the soul—it is the hope of life, the anchor of safety, the deliverance from evil."

"Our last hour is written above."

"Duroc, there is another world where we shall meet again."

It was on the 15th of July, 1815, that Napoleon surrendered to the captain of the *Bellerophon*. On the 26th the ship reached Plymouth. On the 30th "General Bonaparte" learnt that he was to be sent to St. Helena. His new world was forty-seven square miles. In place of the Palace of Versailles, the dairy farm at Longwood. Napoleon was long in dying,

but on May 5, 1821, he passed away. His conquerors refused his last request—a grave in French soil. Of these last days he said :—

“ I have worn the Imperial crown of France; the iron crown of Italy; England has now given me a greater and more glorious than either—for it is that worn by the Saviour of the World—a crown of thorns.”

On the 8th of May, 1821, the victor of Austerlitz was buried in a shady corner of St. Helena known as Slane’s Valley. The pall covering the coffin was the military cloak worn at Marengo. In 1840 the body was removed to Paris. On December 15th it was reinterred in the chapel of the Hôtel des Invalides. Eight years later, in the revolutions of 1848, the peoples of Italy, Spain, Austria and even Prussia showed that they were once more ready to take up the cause of Mirabeau and Danton. The work of Napoleon was completed. Western Europe had tasted the waters of political liberty and had found them sweet.

Says Amiel, “ Democracy exists; it is mere loss of time to dwell upon its absurdities and defects. Every *régime* has its weakness, and this *régime* is a lesser evil than others.”

From the French Revolution and from Napoleon came good and bad. Both had the common quality of humanity. Both were justified. Looking back alike on their failures and their achievements, we can say that both made for good.

THE REVOLUTIONARY REACTION

The surest justification for Napoleon is to be found in the reaction which followed his downfall.

Louis XVIII. was restored to the French throne for a second time in July 1815. In September the Holy Alliance was formed with Russia, Prussia and Austria as its members, and Metternich, the Austrian minister, as its instrument of government. Carnot, Siéyès, and other revolutionary heroes were exiled from France. On December 7th, Ney, the Bravest of the Brave, was shot like a dog in Paris. Several other marshals and generals were killed in the outbreak of brigandage known as the White Terror. The Revolution ended, as it had begun, in bloody anarchy. But this time the mob was fighting for reaction, for the few against the many.

For a decade Europe was ruled by reactionaries who met in congresses of the Great Powers to decide upon common action against the forces which were continually arising from the teaching and example of the French Revolution. The Congress of Vienna refused to agree to the establishment of representative institutions which the Young German Party demanded for Germany. Metternich described the demand as "Jacobinism," a reminder of the horrors of the Terror which sufficed to clinch his arguments for active repression. As a result secret societies were formed throughout Europe for the support of liberal constitutional principles. In Germany and Italy they were associated with the struggle for a central national government. In 1820

the Holy Alliance authorised Austria to suppress nationalism in Italy by force of arms. Similar action was taken by France in Spain. When the Holy Alliance was dissolved by the death of Czar Alexander, Metternich was left as the controller of Austria and Prussia, a situation which continued until the revolutions of 1848.

The history of the Holy Alliance is full of significance in relation to the League of Nations which is to deal with the international problems arising from the World War. If it is dominated by the ideals of a Metternich, the prospects are poor indeed.

Few will doubt now that Germany suffered much from the failure of the revolutionaries in 1848 and the fact that the effort of the Liberals was broken by Prussian bayonets. When a German Parliament did arise it was only semi-democratic. The people ordained, but they had no means of making their will effective over the executive. They will pay alike for their weakness and for the follies of their rulers for many a year. As it was in Germany, so it was in Austria. There was a revolution, but it was not successful enough. In 1848 Metternich fled from Vienna in a washerwoman's cart, but the forces which had made the rule of a Metternich possible were not rooted out until 1919, as a result of Austria's failure in the World War. In Hungary, too, the pity was that Louis Kossuth failed. In France many years of the nineteenth century were wasted. The sense of liberty was aroused at last and made itself all-powerful, though not until France had experienced

the horrors of the German invasion of 1870 and the Commune of 1871. After eighty years' struggle for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, French society was indeed rebuilt on a new basis, and the breach between the lower and the middle classes healed.

ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS.

REVOLUTION AND REACTION.

- (1) What do you understand by "history by drum-taps" to mean?
- (2) Characterise Danton and Robespierre. Which would you have followed?
- (3) Napoleon was by birth a Corsican. Is there any historic significance in this?
- (4) Describe the Battle of Austerlitz.
- (5) "Napoleon was a democrat." Is this true?

CHAPTER XIII

RECONSTRUCTION—THE PROBLEM OF TO-DAY

WE have come to the history of our own time: the period Englishmen know as the Victorian Age; the years of transition which followed, and ended in the tragedy of the World War.

The French Revolution has already suggested the line of thought best fitted to link up the multitudinous facts. It is expressed in the word "reconstruction." We require, however, to extend its meaning far beyond the idea of rebuilding Western Europe after the travail of the Napoleonic Wars. We even require to extend it beyond the thought of reorganising the body social and the body politic on the ideals of equality and liberty which the French Revolution revealed to humanity.

The nineteenth century witnessed the full discovery of the world. As the potentialities of Central America were revealed in the sixteenth century, so Canada, Australia, Africa, Argentina, Brazil and the rest were revealed in the nineteenth. Again the nineteenth century learnt by bitter experience, by means of strikes, civil disorders, and, finally, by the Great War, that all classes in a civilised community have their rights and duties—economic, social, and political.

As we see the problem of reconstruction to-day,

it involves the exploitation of the whole world for the benefit of all men and the utilisation of all men for the exploitation of the world. Such reconstruction demands talents which revolutions do not bring to the fore. Revolution provides the physical force and the fire of the spirit necessary to inaugurate a new era. But the prestige of a settled order, and an organisation capable of devising and continuing the new state, are equally essential. It may be that the World War has developed this talent for social organisation in the men who will be charged with the guidance of the nations during the coming fifty years.

What is the first thought which must have been driven home upon those participants in the World War who are to bring about the reconstruction of a world shattered by Revolution, which, in the form of the wars of religion, revolution and expansion, has been going on for three hundred years? Surely it is that humanity's right struggle is with Nature, not with Man; that man's chief aim should be to exploit the untamed forces of the natural world rather than to prosper at the expense of another class or another nation. If this is so, reconstruction must be largely a matter of industry and commerce. The primal aim must be to increase production, that all may have a full share of what the work of the world can provide. By no possibility can humanity have more. In Great Britain, the grant of the suffrage has been so generous that there is no longer any purely political right worth fighting for. Indeed, the absence of any serious inter-class struggle since

the Revolution of 1642 would suggest that the people of England have long known this. It is true that, up to the present, the masses have not directly utilised their power of rule, but they have secured the right and the means to do so. A fairer distribution of existing wealth is a part of the problem of reconstruction. But the basic problem is to increase production.

NATIONAL PRODUCTION AND NATIONAL WEALTH

Even if the problem of reconstruction only entailed the replacement of what was lost in the World War, a vastly greater production would be essential. The war cost the belligerent states £52,000,000,000; the annual burden of interest on their national debts rose in the five years from £260 million to £2,000 million a year. The figure £52,000,000,000 is nine or ten times the cost of the following wars: the Napoleonic struggle, the Crimean War, the American Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War, the South African War and the Russo-Japanese War.

Yet, reconstruction will also have to bear the cost of shorter hours of labour, more comfort in the homes and a better apportionment of the pleasures and privileges of education, sport and art.

Fortunately, the experience of nineteenth-century history gives ground for full confidence. In 1815, at the end of the struggle with Napoleon, the tax revenue of Great Britain was 72 millions as compared with 707 millions in 1917-18. Whereas the

wealth of the United Kingdom in 1812, the year when the domination of Napoleon was broken, was 2290 millions, the wealth of the Empire in 1903 was estimated to be 22,250 millions. It is now about £25,000 million, returning an annual income of over £3600 million.

Here are some of the problems which the student of the nineteenth-century history must consider and relate to the problems of his own time.

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| The Canal Age. | The Coal Age. | The Railway Age. |
| The Steamship | | Industrial Machinery |
| Trade Unionism. | Growth of Great Towns. | Factory Acts. |
| Inventions. | Increase of Wealth and Wages. | Gold Discoveries in California and Australia. |
| Electricity, etc. | | |
| Darwin, 1809–1882. | Increase of Knowledge. | Free Education. |
| The Great Strikes. | Masses and Political Power. | The Woman's Vote. |
| Federation of Canada, Australia and South Africa. | Growth of Imperialism. | Union of Germany, 1870. |
| Struggle for Colonies. | The World War. | Struggle for Trade. |

PRODUCTION AND EMPIRE

The United Kingdom was the first nation to realise the necessity for increasing production after the Napoleonic struggle ended. Indeed, very much of British history has been a record of ever-increasing national production and expansion. Whereas in the thirteenth century, on the eve of the Renaissance, the Lord of the Manor in each village aimed at making his own estate self-supporting, Great Britain can

now draw its raw material from all over the world. Before the end of the Middle Ages, there were practically no organised industries in Great Britain. England's chief export was wool, which it sent to Flanders. In the reign of Edward III. many Flemish wool factors came to England; by the time of Elizabeth the manufacture of woollen material was established. In 1765 was invented the spinning jenny, which enabled England, during the struggle with Napoleon, to monopolise the woollen and cotton trades. By the end of the eighteenth century it was clear that there was an unlimited market for English textiles. Germany demanded cotton yarn; America and the Continent took woollen goods. In exchange, the mines of the West and the rich commerce of India and the East poured wealth into Great Britain. In 1815 it could be said that "Trafalgar and Waterloo were won in the weaving-sheds of England."

The eighteenth century was a time of great commercial and territorial expansion for Great Britain. Earlier, Spain and Holland had opportunities of creating a world-wide empire, but failed to take advantage of them. The United Provinces in Holland did not discover a really workable administrative system. With the constant fear of revolt at home, Holland was never able to spend all its energies upon the foundation of an empire overseas. Consequently the Dutch contented themselves with money-making.

France had the ambition to form a world-wide empire, and Louis XIV. actually proved that such an empire was within its grasp. But the very success of Louis XIV. and his great ministers of state proved

France's undoing. The country came to rely upon the energy and foresight of its rulers rather than upon the energy and foresight of the people themselves. Moreover, the capitalists who financed the great French trading companies had not the commercial imagination of their Dutch rivals; they expected returns too quickly; they had not the patience to wait the twenty and thirty years which are often necessary to make a fortune in new countries.

Only in Great Britain were all the essentials to empire-building found. Her merchants were familiar with overseas enterprise. The revolution in the seventeenth century had resulted in political stability at home. The country could send its administrators, and if necessary soldiery, overseas without fear of internal trouble. When Britain's chance came it was able both to conquer and to hold its possessions. Yet at first the struggle with France for an overseas empire seemed hopeless enough. When the population of Great Britain was under nine millions, that of France was twenty-five millions. When Great Britain's revenue was £5,000,000, that of France was £22,000,000. But in the eighteenth century came the great increase in commerce and the rise of capitalism. Whereas, in France, capital was in the hands of the Crown and the State, in Great Britain it was directed by the commercial classes. New markets opened up and the accumulation of capital increased. Hitherto Amsterdam had been the first financial centre in Europe; now London took its place.

The commercial supremacy of England, which was secured by 1760, reacted on British manufactures.

Fortunes were made in the textile and hardware trades. The increase of iron smelting and coal-mining went on. With the great demand for goods of British manufacture and the abundance of capital, inventors had a unique opportunity. Here is a bare list of the "inventions" of the century between 1759, "the Year of Victory," and the revolutions of '48.

- 1760. Manchester and Worsley Canal.
- 1760. Roebuck's Blast Furnace.
- 1767. Hargreaves' Spinning Jenny.
- 1769. Watt's Steam Engine.
- 1785. Cartwright's Power Loom.
- 1807. Clegg's Gasworks.
- 1815. Davy's Safety Lamp.
- 1815. Macadamisation of Roads.
- 1829. Stephenson's "Rocket."
- 1832. Morse's Electric Telegraph.
- 1838. First Transatlantic Steamship.
- 1842. Nasmyth's Steam Hammer.
- 1847. Howe's Sewing Machine.
- 1847. Liebig's Extract of Meat.

A still further increase of commerce followed upon the building-up of British manufacture. Cotton from the Southern States of America, wool from Australia and New Zealand, jute from India, metals from South Africa came to the towns in which coal and iron had established British industries. The realisation of the value of raw material, in turn, resulted in the expansion and development of our overseas possessions. To-day, the British Empire includes some 400 million people scattered over 12,755,000 square miles. Perhaps, the most noteworthy thing about this empire is that it does not

require uniformity in system or outlook. The constitutions of Canada and Australia differ widely from that of the United Kingdom. Uniformity, far from being an ideal in building up a world empire, would be a contradiction of the plain teaching of history—that differences are essential if men are to be free to adjust their lives to the diversities of nature. It is the fact of partnership in liberties and experiences common to our race which is the basis of the unity of the British Empire.

So British manufacture and commerce were established and provision was made for the supply of raw material from all parts of the world, together with food for an ever-growing population.

One more thing seemed necessary—the organisation of the British industries upon a capitalistic basis. This was completed by the early years of the nineteenth century. As a consequence society was also reconstructed on a capitalistic basis. A body of art patrons arose which in generosity and enthusiasm was equal to any in the world. Their tastes were satisfied by the portraits of Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney and Lawrence. Even deeper imaginings, the things which men scarcely suspected themselves of feeling, found expression in the landscapes of Turner.

GROWTH OF MODERN DEMOCRACY

The blast furnaces and the macadamised road, the locomotive and the steamship, brought modern democracy into being. A new hope stirred in the

great masses of the people. Orator Hunt raised the tri-colour in South London. Then came the Reform Bill. It was little enough. In 1836 only 839,513 adult males had votes out of the 6,023,752 in the United Kingdom. But after the lower middle class—the class of Charles Dickens—came the opportunity of the masses in the large towns. They, too, lifted up their faces towards the sky and filled their lungs with vital air. The electorate of 1,352,970 in 1867 became 2,243,259 in 1870. In 1914 it was eight millions. To-day it is sixteen millions.

We know now that, in spite of the effort of a hundred years, British democracy has failed to realise the ideals of happiness which seemed so near in 1833. The Reform Bill proved that the House of Commons could be changed. But the net result upon the executive has only been that the middle-class officials of the eighteenth century became the middle-class bureaucrats of the nineteenth. In the industrial world the upper and middle classes are still in the ascendant.

Realising the consequences of the Reform Bill, the aristocracy resolved to make terms with the middle class. It recruited itself freely from the middle class. Carlyle was one of the recruits. The *Latter Day Pamphlets* in 1851 convinced many Englishmen that a beneficent despotism was the best of all governments. The Aristocratic Compromise was an immediate success. Within eight years of the passing of the Reform Act, Peel had rallied the newly enfranchised voters to the Tory Party and to the support of the old-time institutions. In the next few

years the aristocrats did very much to justify their alliance with the people. Though the progress of railways and steamships was yearly reducing the value of their estates, the great landlords were generous in decreasing rents and accepting agrarian reforms. Lord Shaftesbury and his Tory associates took the lead in the Factory Reforms of 1843 and 1847, which resulted in the work of women and children being limited to ten hours a day. Later came Maurice, Kingsley and the Christian Socialists, who took over many of the functions of the Chartists. These men were certainly not "democrats." In their view democracy threatened to be the rule of mere numbers. They knew that the prime necessity was to teach the artisan class self-restraint and patience, the absence of which had brought about the failures of 1789 and 1848.

Throughout the nineteenth century, and indeed to the present time, democracy has spent its powers in evolving an organisation able to carry its vague ideals into effect. The history of modern democracy has been the history of trade-unionism, the record of the experiments of the working classes in organisation and administration. Politically, the effort has been concerned more largely with failure than success. First, the betrayal of democracy by the Whigs, with their policy of *laissez faire*, after the apparent triumph of the Reform Bill of 1832; then, the downfall of Chartism. Since the Reform Bill of 1867, the history of democracy has largely been one of collecting subscriptions for benefit societies, organising strikes, combating lock-outs, creating labour leagues. By

these means the solidarity of the masses has been fostered. Without trade-union organisation, English democracy would still be voiceless. Every particle of energy has been spent upon this work of organisation; there has been little or no energy to spare for the real work of reconstruction, which surely implies that the trade-union movement and all it stands for should be incorporated in the general life of the body social and politic.

If the millions are still reaching after the enchanted fruit in the political sphere, have they been more fortunate in the commercial and economic world?

In an earlier age a man was a craftsman with the joys and interests of a craftsman. The nineteenth century saw the individual become a wheel, a mere cog on a wheel, in a vast industrial machine. In 1859 a pair of boots was made by eighty-three operations, the work of two men. To-day a pair of boots is made by 122 operations, performed by 113 men and women. Fifty years ago men were shoemakers. To-day they are vamp cutters, tip makers, second-row stitchers, eyeletters, feather edgers, insole sorters and counter buffers. Joy in work? There is little enough of that to-day. Joy is not a commercial asset. In certain large factories the cinematograph is replacing the stop-watch in timing detail work. A large clock, the hands of which will record a thousandth of a minute, is placed close to the workman and photographed with him by the cinematograph machine. The resulting pictures show and time every movement. A thousandth part of a minute is of importance!

These are not the circumstances under which craftsmen worked in the past. They are part of the price we have paid for the increased production derived from machinery. Surely, also, they are among the things which will have to be changed before reconstruction can be regarded as complete. In the mid-nineteenth century it was a fixed dogma of the political economist that if a country became richer it became happier. To-day, we are learning that Ruskin was right when he asked, What is the good of a train from Islington to Camberwell which only takes a man from a dismal and illiberal life in Islington to a dismal and illiberal life in Camberwell?

DICKENS AS SOCIAL HISTORIAN

These aspects of history—the social and spiritual aspects—are what history-book makers have tended to neglect in the past. Yet they are the very stuff of a true judgment upon many problems to which we look for historical guidance. They are also essentially the matters upon which the general reader, with no pretensions to scholarship, desires information. There is no better source for such information regarding the nineteenth century than the novels of the period. Dickens, for example, affords much insight into the lives of the lower-middle class which arose with the growth of factory life and overseas trade.

These lower-middle class folk were the discovery of Charles Dickens. They, in turn, discovered him. His fortune and their fortunes were inextricably commingled. Hitherto, the English novelist had

addressed himself primarily to the upper and upper-middle classes. Scott's tales were told to men and women who knew what history was. But Dickens found in a life which other writers neglected elements of tragedy and comedy no less vital than those in the romances of Walter Scott. The lower-middle class of Victorian Britain welcomed the recorder of their joys and fears. He showed them that they stood for more in the scheme of things than they had believed.

It is of deep historical interest in reading many of Dickens's books to estimate the worth of the novelist as a social reformer. Do not imagine that Dickens was the only worker in the field of social reform. In 1802—ten years before Dickens was born—Sir Robert Peel, the elder, secured the passage of a Bill compelling employers to clothe, feed and educate properly all their child-workers, and to abolish nightwork. This Act first introduced the principle of factory inspection. In 1819 another Bill was passed making it illegal for any child under nine years old to be employed in a cotton factory. A further Act on the same lines was passed in 1825; and in 1830—eight years before *Oliver Twist* was written—began the movement which was ultimately to destroy the whole of the vile child-slavery which for a hundred years had disgraced our factories, our coal-mines, and our agricultural districts, the movement with which Lord Shaftesbury's name is pre-eminently associated. These and other workers did much. But they had not the supreme gift of arousing and sustaining the sympathies of the great mass of

the people. It was in no spirit of foolish vanity that Dickens looked back over his years of work and penned the preface to the *Pickwick Papers* which he added in 1867. He makes no definite claim to have led the van of the fighters for purer living and a kindlier social system. But the very fact of such a preface shows in what direction Dickens looked for assurance as to the value of his life's work. Here is the passage—

“ I have found it curious and interesting, looking over the sheets of this reprint, to mark what important social improvements have taken place about us, almost imperceptibly, since they were originally written. The licence of Counsel and the degree to which Juries are ingeniously bewildered, are yet susceptible of moderation ; while an improvement in the mode of conducting Parliamentary Elections (and even Parliaments too, perhaps), is still within the bounds of possibility. But legal reforms have pared the claws of Messrs. Dodson and Fogg ; a spirit of self-respect, mutual forbearance, education, and co-operation for such good ends, has diffused itself among their clerks ; places far apart are brought together, to the present convenience and advantage of the Public, and to the certain destruction, in time, of a host of petty jealousies, blindesses, and prejudices, by which the Public alone have always been the sufferers ; the laws relating to imprisonment for debt are altered ; and the Fleet Prison is pulled down ! ”

“ Who knows, but by the time the series reaches its conclusion, it may be discovered that there are even magistrates in town and country, who should be taught to shake hands every day with Common-sense and Justice ; that even Poor Laws may have mercy on the weak, the aged, and unfortunate ; that Schools, on the broad principles of Christianity, are the best adornment for the length and breadth of this civilised land ; that Prison

doors should be barred on the outside, no less heavily and carefully than they are barred within; that the universal diffusion of common means of decency and health is as much the right of the poorest of the poor, as it is indispensable to the safety of the rich, and of the State; that a few petty boards and bodies—less than drops in the great ocean of humanity, which roars around them—are not for ever to let loose Fever and Consumption on God's creatures at their will, or always to keep their jobbing little fiddles going for a Dance of Death."

If Dickens was the creation—the first, the supreme creation—of the factory system, Thackeray was the creation of Commercial England. Successful merchants, highly placed civil servants and soldiers dominated his world. He was born into an age in which rank and manners were decaying. Money secured the seats at the top table in his world.

I make no apology for this digression upon the Victorian novelist as a source of historical impressions. Indeed, I propose to add to my fault, if fault it is, by setting up a similar claim for a Victorian painter. If the general reader does not learn to utilise all sources of information, he will never have a sure hold upon the main facts of general history. This is the basic argument in my book; the dominant impression which I wish to leave on my reader's mind. Only by continually collecting and storing the raw material of history can a series of visualisations be formed and a body of information secured which cover so vast a theme. If history is regarded as a subject for special study at the rate, let us say, of one book a month, the facts which have been collected so arduously will be forgotten. This will

not be the case if the process of accumulation is always going on. The storehouses of the mind will be opened continually; not yearly but daily; as you read your newspaper; as you chatter to a friend; in many a novel you have picked up for the story; in the theatre; in the museum; in the art gallery.

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THE PAINTER, WATTS

It will be in accordance with the purpose of this book, which has been to regard history as a spiritual adventure, if I close by suggesting that the student of nineteenth-century life will gain much insight from some study of the pictures of G. F. Watts and by reading the painter's life, a remarkable revelation of the dreams and desires of a great Victorian. In the Tate Gallery, London, there are a long series of pictures; and few of the greater provincial galleries are without some of the masterpieces of Watts. Manchester, with the pictures at the Whitworth Institute, is particularly richly endowed.

Watts has no claim to be called the painter of British Democracy. The people of the Middle Ages, in truth, built the cathedrals of Bourges and Chartres. The Gothic Art of to-day, an art made by the hands of the people and embodying the ideals and beliefs of the people, has yet to arise. When such an art comes it will be very different from the stoic visions of Watts. Nevertheless the thought of Watts arose naturally out of his age. Without sympathy with the problems raised by industrialism and the growth

of great cities, another individuality would be enshrined in that quiet hall at the Tate Gallery.

As a social reformer Watts was more in sympathy with the aristocratic reformers led by Lord Shaftesbury than with the movement led by Kingsley and the Christian Socialists. Though of lower middle-class birth Watts was an innate aristocrat. He used to say, "I confess I should like to have a fine name and a great ancestry; it would have been delightful to me to feel as though a long line of worthies were looking down upon me and urging me to sustain their dignity." A man holding such opinions necessarily had little sympathy with the destruction of class distinctions threatened by democracy. Moreover, Watts was born a generation too late to share the sympathies of Shelley and the Romanticists, who revolted against the reaction typified by the Holy Alliance. He was only thirteen when the Parisians dethroned Charles X. and inaugurated the second Revolution. He was fifteen when the First Reform Bill was passed. The influences which moulded the political and social outlook of Watts were those of the 'forties and the 'fifties. He was moved by the sorrows of the poor, as Mrs. Browning and Hood were moved. Among his early pictures were "The Irish Famine," and the "Seamstress," with its echo of "The Song of the Shirt." In 1850 Watts exhibited the "Good Samaritan," which he dedicated to Thomas Wright, the Manchester philanthropist who did so much for discharged prisoners on the lines developed by Lord Shaftesbury. The association of Watts with Lord and Lady Holland

cemented his alliance with the aristocratic reformers, alike against the Whig capitalists and the destroying Chartists.

Yet in spite of his personal views how surely Watts summed up his age. It is impossible to label Watts : Whig, Tory, or Revolutionary might have spoken as Watts spoke through his art. He once proposed to make a statue to Mammon and set it up in Hyde Park. "It may be," said Watts, "that his worshippers will be honest enough to bow the knee." The plan was not carried out. Instead the picture "Mammon" was painted in 1885 and was dedicated to "all his Worshippers." There were slave-drivers of old; to-day there is Mammon, the God of the twentieth century. Avaricious, cruel and insolent, moneybags in lap, Watts shows the gorgeous golden draperies hanging awkwardly over the coarse limbs. The naked boy and girl are types of a humanity which has accepted the thraldom of Mammon. The thought symbolised in "Mammon" has been finely analysed by Mr. G. K. Chesterton in his study of Watts. Read it before you commence Mrs. Watts's *Life*. Chesterton imagines a man, sick of the conventional argosies and cornucopias of Commerce, stopping before Watts's picture and being arrested by it. "Yes," he would say, "this is something which in spirit and in essence I have seen before. That bloated, unconscious face, so heavy, so violent, so wicked, so insolent, have I not seen it at street corners, in billiard rooms, in saloon bars, laying down the law about Chartered shares or gaping at jokes about women? The hard straight pillars of that

throne, have I not seen them in the hard, straight, hideous tiers of modern warehouses and factories? This is Commerce. This is the home of the god himself. This is why men hate him and why men fear him and why men endure him."

Mammon, and the spirit of Mammon, are other things that must be cast out before the reconstruction of our civilisation is complete.

It was the dream of Watts's life to build what he called a House of Life. In its halls and corridors he designed to place a series of pictures upon the mysteries of life and death as revealed in the history of human existence. The House of Life was not completed; it was never even commenced. From a memorandum drawn up by the painter we can gain an impression of what it might have been. The ceiling was to be painted with the fathomless blue of space, from which the sun, the earth, and the moon were to shine forth and suggest the primal fact of the Universe—the Immensity of Time. So Watts's picture, "Time and Oblivion," was to come into its place. Attendant upon the Earth were to be the twin, but antagonistic, forces of Attraction and Repulsion. Dividing the ceiling by a golden band upon which the Zodiac was to be painted, Watts purposed that one side should contain a nearer view of the Earth. Gigantic figures stretched at full length were to represent the mountain ranges which form the bony structure of the world. Silence and mighty repose were to characterise the giants. The revolving centuries, personified by womanly figures of great beauty, were to glide beneath the crags upon which

the Titans lay, suggesting the negligible effects of time upon the everlasting hills as compared with the effects upon humanity. The ceiling completed, Watts designed to fill the House of Life with the pictures which were to sum up the life of man himself—first the hunter, slowly raising himself above the brute-beast; next the pastoralist, and the tamer and trainer of the domestic animals. So Watts pictured the coming of the patriarchal Golden Age, the age of poetry, when man enjoyed as much happiness as humanity is heir to, equally removed from the penalties of ambition and from the degradation of a merely animal existence. Here Watts designed to introduce some themes drawn from the Book of Job.

In Watts's imaginings, the Age of Poetry was to end. He saw the coming of the tyrant, the rise of slavery, and the congregation of men in great cities, until the pageant of the historic civilisations commenced its onward march. Egypt, Babylonia, Palestine, Persia, India, Greece, Rome, the dawn of Christianity, the coming of the Middle Ages, the rise of the Saracen power and the Crusades. Watts meant to paint them all, until his scheme represented nothing less than a pictured history of the spirit of man.

It is a vision of this sort that each of my readers should create for himself as a final result of his study of history. It will be fashioned in part from the ordinary stuff of history-books and daily newspapers, but also from the more fitful gleams of insight to be found in poetry and art.

Facts are, in truth, the raw material of history.

But with these facts must be found the judgments of the thinker and the visions of the poet. History is co-extensive with humanity, and, like man himself, is made from the dust of the earth, the vitalising stir of idea, and the inspiration of the spirit. This must ever be remembered if we would gain what Thucydides described as the object of history—"a true view of what has happened, and of the like or similar things which, in accordance with human nature, will probably happen again."

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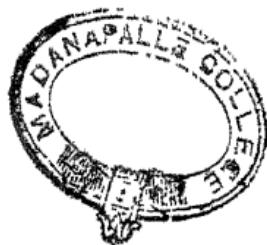
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